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The Editorial deals with National Armament, and there is a Special Article by the celebrated International Criminologist, **DR. SIMON**, on

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Owing to the exigencies of the American Copyright Act, President Taft's article on his judicial decisions, and on his election, cannot appear until the June number; but he is contributing to the May number of the "English Review" an article on the PANAMA CANAL.

Contributors to the preceding numbers have included Messrs. Thomas Hardy, Henry James, Joseph Conrad, Geo. Meredith, T. Watts-Dunton, John Galsworthy, Violet Hunt, Count Tolstoi, Anatole France, Emile Verhaeren, D. G. Rossetti, Gerhardt Hauptmann, W. B. Yeats, Granville Barker, H. G. Wells; and among the contributors to the early numbers of Vol. II. will be found M. Camille Pelletan and the President of the United States.

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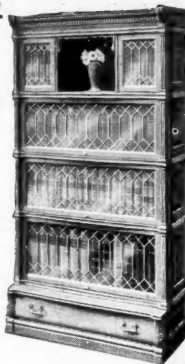


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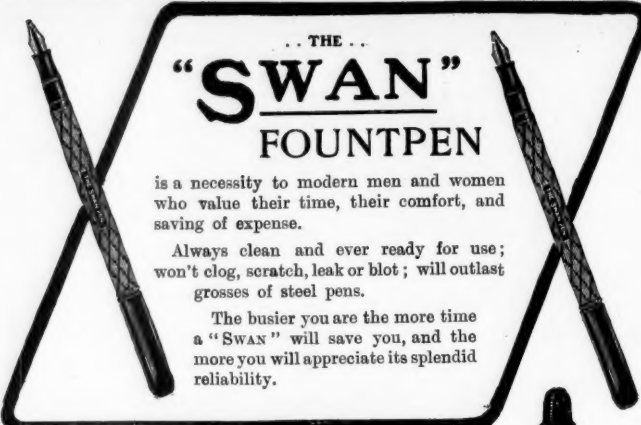


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	PAGE
Charing Cross Hospital	3
Church of England Waifs and Strays Society	5
Hospital for Sick Children	6
Orphan Working School and Alexandra Orphanage	5
Queen Charlotte's Lying-in Hospital	7
Royal Alfred Aged Merchant Seamen's Institution	4
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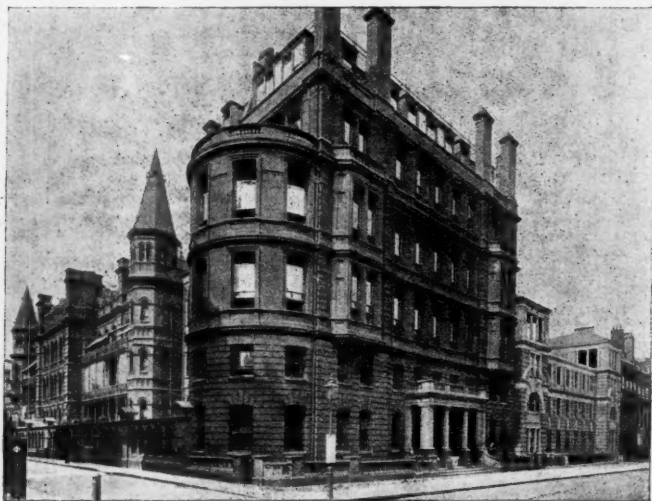
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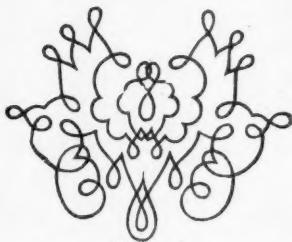
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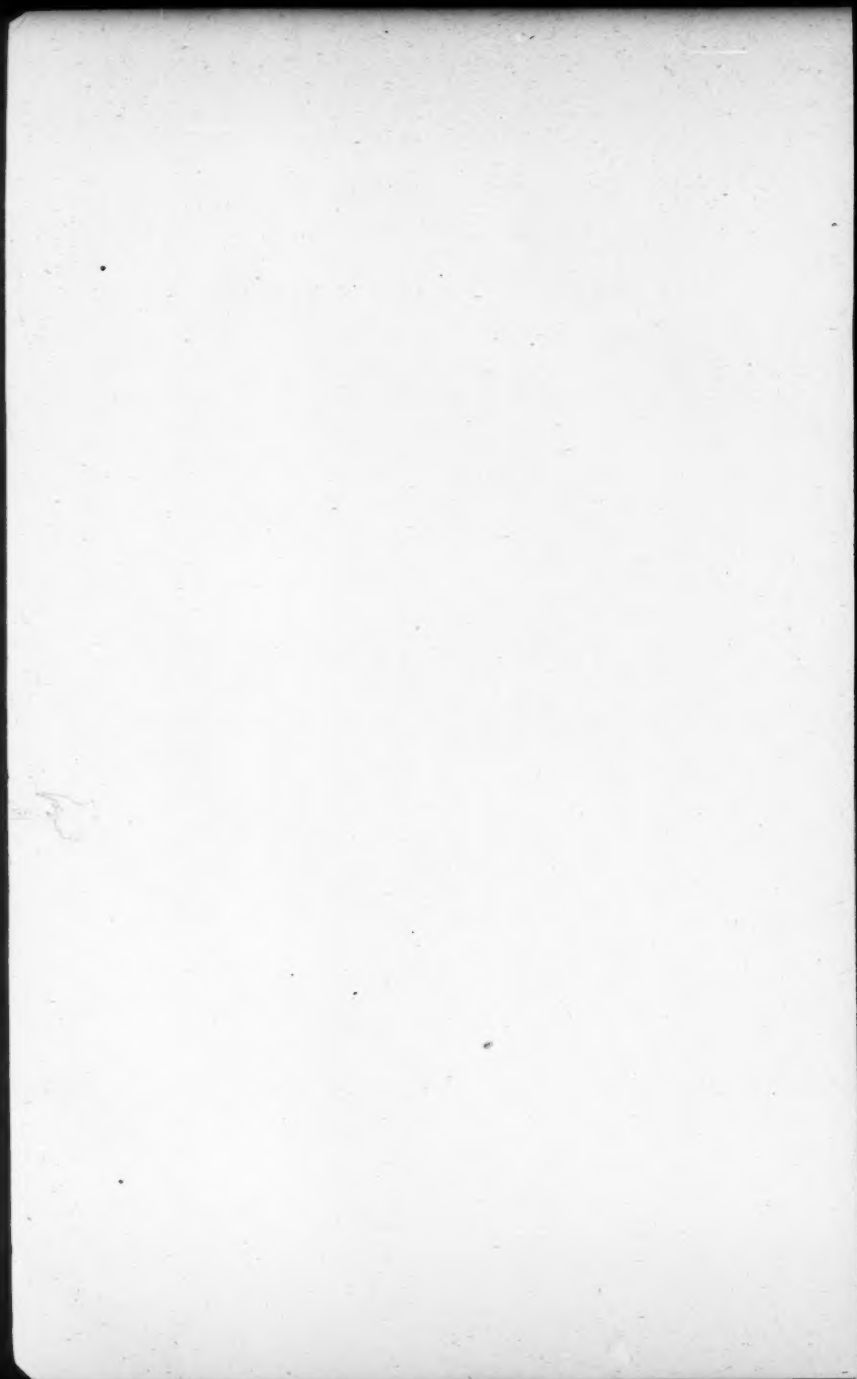
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MILITARY AND NAVAL - - -	31	GARDENING AND NATURE - -	44
TRAVEL, SPORT AND ADVENTURE	33	THEOLOGY - - - - -	44
ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY - - -	34	PERIODICALS - - - - -	46
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2. *Alfred, Lord Tennyson: a Memoir*. By his Son. Two vols. London: Macmillan, 1897.

L'ÉDITION des œuvres complètes de Tennyson que la librairie Macmillan donne aujourd'hui au public semble excellente à tous égards. Les volumes de cette série sont faits pour charmer le bibliophile, mais l'étudiant des lettres anglaises y trouvera lui aussi, et lui surtout, son compte. On peut dire, en effet, que c'est ici l'édition *ne varietur* des poèmes de Tennyson. Des Appendices nous donnent certains poèmes qu'on ne trouve pas aux recueils ordinaires des œuvres du poète publiés par la même maison; par exemple, à la fin du premier volume, ce poème de 'Tombouctou' qui valut à Tennyson son premier laurier; on y trouve encore des variantes, des esquisses en prose d'Idylles arthuriennes plus tard développées et vêtues des grands rythmes que nous connaissons, enfin d'assez nombreux fac-similés de manuscrits du poète. Un intérêt pittoresque du même ordre s'attache à l'admirable portrait du poète dans sa vieillesse (1891) par Watts, et au profil de Lady Tennyson par le même artiste.

Nous avons hâte d'en venir à la grande nouveauté de cette édition, ses notes. Elles occupent une place importante à la fin de chaque volume et sont dues en grande partie à l'auteur lui-même, soit qu'il les ait écrites ou qu'elles aient été recueillies par un témoin de sa vie. De cette dernière catégorie sont les notes fournies

par l' 'éditeur,' qui en l'espèce est Hallam, Lord Tennyson, le fils du poète. Il nous plaît de voir les œuvres de ce grand artiste, qui plus que tout autre avait horreur de la curiosité sacrilège des 'localiseurs,' expliquées et éclairées par la diligente piété d'un fils. Les notes abondent sur 'In Memoriam,' sur la composition de 'La Princesse' (voir à ce sujet une très curieuse lettre de Tennyson à un éditeur canadien, vol. iv, pp. 238-42), sur les procédés mêmes de travail du poète et sa curieuse quête des fleurs de poésie dans la nature. Cette édition fournit, donc, non seulement un très intéressant commentaire, et le plus autorisé que l'on puisse désirer, des œuvres de Tennyson ; mais elle abonde en précieux détails sur l'art et la personnalité de leur auteur.

L'Angleterre et tous les pays de langue anglaise vont célébrer avec éclat et surtout avec un culte religieux l'anniversaire de la naissance d'Alfred Tennyson. D'autres encore que les Anglais et hommes de langue anglaise tiendront à honneur de parler, d'écrire ou de s'entretenir solitairement du grand poète dont il s'agit ; car il est de ceux qui ont honoré, non seulement le pays où il est né et la langue dont il s'est servi, mais l'humanité tout entière. Qu'il nous soit donc permis, à nous Français, et malgré notre incompétence, de consacrer quelques pages à la mémoire—*In Memoriam*—d'un homme qui a été pour beaucoup dans notre éducation intellectuelle et morale.

Tennyson naquit le 6 août 1809, à Somersby, dans le comté de Lincoln, le quatrième enfant d'une famille qui en compte douze. Son père était ministre de l'Église anglicane, très instruit, possesseur d'une très imposante bibliothèque où puisa largement le jeune Alfred avant d'aller à l'Université. Mais même avant de savoir lire, Alfred manifestait ce que l'on pourrait appeler le tempérament poétique. 'Les mots loin, bien loin eurent toujours pour moi un charme étrange,' dit-il dans ses souvenirs, et 'les jours d'orage j'avais l'habitude d'ouvrir mes bras au vent en m'écriant : "J'entends une voix qui parle dans le vent."' Bien que de pareils états d'âme aient été constatés chez beaucoup d'enfants qui ne sont pas devenus poètes, il n'en faut pas moins les relever comme intéressants chez ceux qui le sont devenus.

Ces dispositions poétiques, qui ne paraissent pas s'être montrées avant lui dans sa famille, lui étaient communes avec son frère Charles. Tous deux lurent avec avidité les poètes anglais. Lui, particulièrement, s'adonna à la lecture des grands romantiques, sans préjudice pourtant de Pope qu'il aimait à imiter. Il fut ce que nous appelons en France enfant prodige, ou tout au moins enfant précoce. A douze ans il écrivit un poème épique de 6000 vers; à quatorze ans un drame en vers blancs; à dix-sept ans il publia, en collaboration avec son frère Charles, un premier volume de vers, 'Poèmes, par deux frères.'

A cette époque, jusqu'à cette époque, il était sous l'influence prédominante de Lord Byron. Le jour où il apprit la mort du grand poète (1824) il fut atterré; il alla errer dans le vaste silence et la mélancolie des grands bois, et il grava sur un rocher ces mots: 'Byron est mort.'

Sa première éducation s'était faite à la 'grammar school' de Louth, petite ville voisine de Somersby, de l'année 1815 à l'année 1820, donc de sa sixième année à sa onzième. De sa onzième année à sa dix-neuvième il fut instruit par son père et par lui-même, tous deux jugeant sans doute que Louth avait donné tout ce qu'il pouvait donner. En 1828 le jeune Alfred entra au Trinity College de Cambridge.

Il était alors un jeune homme de dix-huit ans et demi, 'de six pieds de haut (nous dit Andrew Lang), avec une large poitrine, des membres vigoureux, une figure shakespearienne, des paupières enfoncées, un vaste front, des cheveux noirs et ondulés, une tête finement équilibrée.' Plus tard, à trente-trois ans, Carlyle nous le dépeint ainsi:

'Un des hommes les plus beaux du monde. Une masse touffue de cheveux rudes, sombres, noirs; des yeux noisette, riants et pleins d'éclat; une figure massive, aquiline, très massive et en même temps très fine, un teint pâle et brun, presque indien, un débraillé cynique, sans façon. Il fume des quantités infinies de tabac. Sa voix est musicale, métallique, propre aux grands éclats de rire et à la plainte déchirante ainsi qu'à toute la gamme qui sépare l'un de l'autre; sa parole et sa pensée sont libres et abondantes; je ne trouve plus en ces temps-ci pareille compagnie pour fumer une pipe.'

Il imposait—dès Cambridge—et inspirait, dit M. Edmond Gosse, à la première rencontre, comme un respect religieux et une vague terreur. Très simple de cœur cependant, détestant les 'embarras illustres,' comme dit Boileau, de la gloire, n'aimant rien tant que le 'home' et les plaisirs de famille, si ce n'est les beaux aspects de la nature et surtout ses physionomies mélancoliques, comme en témoignent à très peu près tous ses ouvrages. A Cambridge il fut centre, sans chercher à l'être. Autour de lui se groupèrent un certain nombre de jeunes gens dont la plupart se firent plus tard un nom dans les lettres—Fitzgerald, Trench, James Spedding, Monckton Milnes, Brookfield, Kemble, Thomson, surtout Arthur H. Hallam, qui donnait à ses amis et particulièrement à Tennyson les plus hautes et les plus douces espérances. Tennyson s'attacha étroitement à Hallam et eut en lui cet ami unique de la jeunesse dont, même quand la mort nous traverse, on ne se sépare jamais.

Avec lui, dans l'été de 1830, il alla se joindre comme volontaire aux bandes de l'insurgé Torrijos dans les Pyrénées. De retour, à la fin de 1830, il ne demeura plus que quelques mois à l'Université. Il la quitta en février 1831. Il perdit son père à ce moment-là et regagna le presbytère de Somersby, où il passa quelques années, uniquement occupé de poésie et de vie au grand air. Arthur Hallam était fiancé d'une de ses sœurs et fréquentait beaucoup au presbytère. La vie était douce et coulait limpide et lente. Tennyson avait publié dès 1830 un recueil intitulé 'Poèmes, surtout lyriques,' qui est la première œuvre de Tennyson seul et qui est bien intéressante, en ce qu'elle ne sent pas du tout l'imitation de quelqu'un, ou de quelques-uns, comme la plupart des ouvrages des jeunes gens, mais au contraire une originalité, une personnalité qui s'affirme audacieusement et qui déborde.

En 1832 il donna 'La Dame de Shalott et autres poèmes.' Cette fois il s'était trouvé. C'était un grand poète qui se révélait. Il y avait dans ce recueil toute la richesse d'imagination que Tennyson devait jamais avoir et je ne sais quelle fraîcheur qu'il ne retrouvera plus toujours, du moins au même degré. Tennyson, comme un vaisseau neuf, était lancé dans la mer orageuse de la gloire.

Le malheur l'attendait à cet instant précis. 1833 fut pour lui une année noire. Son ami, Arthur Hallam, parti avec son père pour le Tyrol en août 1833, mourut subitement à Vienne le 15 septembre, de la rupture d'un vaisseau sanguin dans le cerveau. Le corps du malheureux jeune homme fut rapporté en Angleterre et enterré à Clevedon le 3 janvier 1834. La douleur de Tennyson fut immense. Il devint d'humeur mélancolique, découragé, détaché de tout, indifférent au succès et à la gloire. Ses yeux s'affaiblirent. On put craindre pour sa vie. Des revers de fortune et des difficultés matérielles s'ajoutèrent pour lui aux douleurs morales. Sa famille et lui durent quitter le presbytère de Somersby, qui avait été pour elle l'asile et le temple du bonheur, et changer plusieurs fois de résidence. Tennyson, qui écrivait à cette époque ou en souvenir de cette époque : 'Il me faut la tranquillité ; plus qu'à personne il me faut, quand j'écris, moi-même à moi-même,' vivait presque errant et tout à fait inquiet. Il était extrêmement pauvre. Fiancé, vers 1840, à une jeune fille qu'il aimait, il voyait les parents de la jeune fille s'opposer au mariage et interdire toute correspondance entre elle et lui.

Par suite de tous ces malheurs, dix ans il se tut, ne publia rien, quoique continuant un peu à produire. En 1842 il donna un recueil intitulé 'Poèmes' en deux volumes, fut salué encore une fois grand poète et connut la pleine gloire. Il remonta un peu vers la lumière, eut d'illustres amitiés—Carlyle, Dickens, Elizabeth Barrett (plus tard Mrs Browning).

Mais voici un retour offensif du malheur. Un spéculateur malhonnête le dépouilla lui et sa famille du peu de bien qu'il avait gardé ou reconquis. Il plia sous le coup, devint neurasthénique et hypocondriaque, resta par deux fois (1843 et 1847) en traitement chez un médecin. Un moins vigoureux eût succombé. Il se releva lentement. Une pension de 200 livres, bien modeste, accordée par Sir Robert Peel (1845), le mit au moins à l'abri de l'extrême besoin. En 1846 il fit une petite excursion en Suisse ; en 1847 il publia 'La Princesse,' poème très disparate et inégal mais étincelant par fois de sublimes beautés (un mélange, 'a medley,' dit le sous-titre). L'admiration hésita, l'approbation même. Carlyle et Fitzgerald doutèrent que Tennyson pût jamais redevenir

ce qu'il avait été. On est moins étonné de ces sévérités de la critique quand on songe que Tennyson revenait toujours sur ses ouvrages après la première édition, et que ce que nous lisons de lui n'est jamais ce que ses contemporains lurent tout d'abord.

Tout compte fait, on peut dire que pendant dix-sept ans, de 1833 à 1850, de sa vingt-quatrième année à sa quarantième, Tennyson fut dans le malheur, dans l'angoisse, dans les demi-ténèbres d'une destinée qui se cherchait, doutait d'elle-même et se voyait comme arrêtée, comprimée et refoulée. 1850 lui rouvrit les portes de l'avenir, de l'espérance, de la gloire et du bonheur; et ces deux dernières choses qui vont si rarement ensemble devaient pour lui se réunir et rester réunies jusqu'à sa mort. En 1850 il se maria avec Emily Sellwood, dont il était le fiancé malheureux et désespérant depuis dix ans. 'La paix de Dieu (écrivait-il plus tard) entra dans ma vie au pied de l'autel où je la pris pour femme.' En 1850, après la mort de Wordsworth, la Reine le nomma poète lauréat (19 novembre). En 1850, enfin, il publia un des plus beaux et certainement le plus connu et le plus populaire de ses recueils, 'In Memoriam,' consacré à son ami perdu Arthur Hallam; et sur ce recueil il n'y eut qu'une voix, celle de l'admiration et de l'enthousiasme.

Dès lors tout réussit à Tennyson. Sa pension, ses honoraires, quoique modestes, de poète lauréat, la vente de ses livres, qui enfin est lucrative, lui assurent des revenus suffisants. Après quelques changements de résidence il se fixe à Farringford, dans l'île de Wight, s'y complaît et y caresse son bonheur, ne s'écartant de ce lieu que rarement pour aller à Londres qu'il aime peu ou plutôt où il s'aime peu, travaillant à loisir et du reste avec facilité et abondance. Ses ouvrages se multiplient et changent de caractère. Ce ne sont plus des recueils de courtes pièces; ce sont de longs poèmes ('Maud,' 'Enoch Arden'), des drames ('Becket,' etc.), des poésies épiques ('Demeter,' 'La Mort d'Enone').

Très peu d'événements, très peu d'incidents, même, sont à relever dans cette période où l'histoire de sa vie n'est guère que l'histoire de ses ouvrages; et on peut appliquer à Tennyson le mot charmant de Cherbuliez: 'Nos plus grandes aventures ce sont nos pensées.' Ayant, en 1861, dédié ses 'Idylles du Roi,' à la mémoire du Prince

Consort, il fut présenté à la Reine (avril 1862), fut accueilli par elle avec une distinction toute particulière et avec une profonde émotion, et demeura, dès lors, son poète favori. En 1864 il reçut à Farringford la visite de Garibaldi. Il perdit sa mère en 1865 seulement; et en 1879 son frère Charles, le plus chéri, celui qui avait été son collaborateur pour les 'Poèmes de deux frères.' En 1886 il perdit son fils cadet, mort en traversée de la Mer Rouge à bord du vaisseau qui le ramenait des Indes. En 1884 il avait été élevé à la pairie par les soins de Gladstone. Ce lui fut un honneur plutôt qu'un plaisir. Il fut forcé d'accepter. Il avait refusé la pairie deux fois, une première fois en 1873, offerte par Gladstone, une seconde fois en 1874, offerte par Disraeli. Il lui était difficile de la refuser indéfiniment. Il souffrit de cette promotion: 'Pour ma part (dit-il après 1884) je regretterai mon simple nom toute ma vie.' Il faut reconnaître en effet qu'il y a quelque chose de gênant dans cette institution qui vous récompense d'avoir illustré votre nom en vous obligeant à le quitter.

Il accomplit sa quatre-vingt-troisième année le 6 août 1892; il entra dans sa quatre-vingt-quatrième et y vécut juste deux mois. Faible depuis quelque temps, sans maladie caractérisée, il commença et acheva de s'éteindre dans la nuit du 6 octobre. Jusqu'à sa dernière heure son esprit resta lucide et il lisait Shakespeare avec attention. La lune, pleine, éclairait son visage; sa main serrait le volume; et sa physionomie semblait, dans la beauté majestueuse de la mort prochaine, n'avoir plus rien de terrestre. Il ferma les yeux et l'immortalité commença.

L'explosion de douleur fut universelle en Angleterre. On l'ensevelit, on déposa pieusement sur son cercueil le drame de 'Cymbeline' qu'il lisait quelques instants avant la fin et on se prépara à le transporter à Westminster. C'est dans sa maison d'Aldworth, dans le comté de Surrey, qu'il était mort. On le transporta à Londres où, avec des funérailles plus que royales on l'enterra dans la glorieuse abbaye, parmi ses pairs. Il avait vécu quatre-vingt-trois ans; il avait écrit pendant soixante-cinq ou six ans, fournissant une carrière littéraire égale à celle de Goethe et à celle de Victor Hugo.

Suivons maintenant Tennyson dans sa vie intellec-

tuelle comme nous l'avons suivi dans sa vie proprement dite, privée et publique. Ses premiers ouvrages ne sont guère et évidemment n'ont voulu être que des *essais* et *exercices*, des travaux, allègres du reste et alertes, par lesquels le jeune artiste se plie et s'adapte à son métier. Les débuts de Tennyson ressemblent parfaitement, à cet égard, à ceux de Victor Hugo. Les 'Poèmes surtout lyriques' sont des exercices de métrique, de rythmique et de musique. Le virtuose s'y révèle du reste d'une façon très remarquable; et deux qualités qui ne sont certes point le fond du poète, mais sans lesquelles le poète n'existe pas, y sont très marquées, c'est à savoir la facilité du doigté et la sûreté de l'oreille.

Avec 'La Dame de Shalott et autres poèmes' le poète apparaît plus personnel et même extrêmement personnel. Tennyson a trouvé sa première 'formule,' comme nous disons en France, ou bien, plutôt, sa première forme. Ces poèmes sont des tableaux, mais non pas des tableaux aux contours précis et de caractère plastique; ce sont des tableaux baignés dans une atmosphère molle et tendre, aux contours délicats et fuyants, aux perspectives vaporeuses. Si l'on voulait exprimer musicalement l'impression produite, on dirait que ces poèmes sont plutôt des harmonies que des mélodies. Ils sont peut-être, d'ailleurs, ce que Tennyson, en toute sa vie, a donné de plus gracieux et de plus frais.

Neuf ans plus tard, ce qu'il faut bien attentivement remarquer, Tennyson publia les 'Idylles anglaises et autres poèmes.' Dans ce recueil Tennyson se montrait maître de son art par la variété des sujets traités, la variété aussi des styles, des tons, des manières. Ce volume est une galerie où l'on passe d'un pays à un autre pays, d'un siècle à un autre siècle, d'un âge de l'humanité à un autre âge. Ici ce sont, bien véritablement, des 'idylles anglaises': 'Dora,' avec sa simplicité biblique qui rappelle Wordsworth; 'La Fille du jardinier,' avec ses visions exquises de paysages anglais; 'En allant à la diligence,' d'une sensibilité humoristique si pénétrante. Là c'est une fresque imposante et grave: 'La mort d'Arthur,' qu'avoisinent d'autres peintures du moyen âge: 'Sir Galahad,' 'Lancelot et Geneviève.' Plus loin ce sont des résurrections antiques: 'Tithon,' 'Ulysse' en proie à l'éternelle nostalgie de la mer et quittant Ithaque après

l'avoir à si grand' peine retrouvée (souvenir de Dante). Et voici, dans 'Locksley Hall,' une échappée, non plus sur le passé mais sur l'avenir, et une sublime vision de l'humanité future.

Dans ce volume de 1842 on sent le poète mûr, sûr de lui et de son exécution et se laissant aller à tous les sujets qui se présentent à son esprit parce qu'il est sûr de les bien saisir et de les manier avec aisance et avec maîtrise.

En 1847 (remarquez la date et songez au grand 'mouvement d'idées' qui se produisait en Angleterre à ce moment-là) Tennyson donna 'La Princesse, mélange.' Quoique sous-intitulée 'mélange,' 'La Princesse' est bien une histoire et une histoire unique. L'auteur a voulu sans doute, par ce mot 'medley,' excuser ou accuser ou signaler un certain décousu plus ou moins volontaire, peut-être aussi l'intervention de parties lyriques entre les différents épisodes du récit, etc. Quoi qu'il en soit, 'La Princesse' est une fantaisie shakespearienne, mêlée de préoccupations sociologiques toutes modernes, ce qui ne laisse pas d'être un peu déconcertant. Nous sommes dans le parc d'un lord, de nos jours. Parmi les ruines d'une abbaye antique qui se trouve là, le noble lord et sa fille conversent avec quelques jeunes gens qui sont encore à l'université et avec quelques autres personnes. On cause féminisme. Puis on prend la décision de se conter collectivement, pour ainsi parler, une histoire, c'est-à-dire que chaque assistant improvisera à son tour un épisode du récit. Et l'histoire se déroule dans ces conditions. C'est celle d'une princesse du moyen-âge, très véhémentement féministe, amazone de lettres, pour ainsi dire, qui avait fondé une université d'où tout homme était rigoureusement exclu. Mais un prince qui l'aimait se déguisa, brava la mort pour l'approcher, fut blessé grièvement. Elle le soigna par humanité, un peu par remords, fut touchée, émue et finit par s'avouer qu'elle était amoureuse. O femme, ton nom serait orgueil, si ton nom n'était pas faiblesse! Il y a une certaine bizarrerie dans ce poème où se heurtent, pour ainsi parler, le cadre qui est moderne et le tableau qui est médiéval, et encore, si l'on veut, les idées qui appartiennent un peu à l'avenir.

En 1850, comme je l'ai déjà dit, parut 'In Memoriam,' ce grand poème sentimental et philosophique sur la mort d'Arthur Hallam, ce poème de douleur, de regrets et

d'espérances qui avait été médité et roulé dans le cerveau de Tennyson pendant dix-sept ans. 'In Memoriam' est en France l'ouvrage le plus populaire et le plus admiré de Tennyson. On le met couramment à côté de 'Pauca mea' de Victor Hugo. On regrette qu'il soit un peu long et que, quelquefois, une idée précédemment exprimée et abandonnée, semble-t-il, par l'auteur, revienne et reçoive un développement nouveau. Mais on admire unanimement dans ce bel ouvrage la profondeur de la sensibilité et la hauteur de la pensée philosophique. Un poème de douleur qui est en même temps un examen philosophique et qui finit par être un acte de foi et d'espérance est une des plus belles conceptions qu'ait eues un homme, et fait honneur non seulement à lui, mais à l'humanité. Il ferait songer au 'Poème sur le Désastre de Lisbonne' de Voltaire, si le poème sur le désastre de Lisbonne avait autant de profondeur d'émotion que d'élévation philosophique. Quoi qu'il en soit, nous répétons souvent ces vers pleins, solides, lourds de pensée comme les beaux épis sont lourds de grain :

'O douleur, qui poursuit mes pas, compagne affreuse,
Prêtresse de l'autel souterrain de la mort,
Pour rendre plus amer ou plus léger mon sort,
Quel murmure est sorti de tes lèvres menteuses ?
L'astre court, me dis-tu, vers un but incertain ;
Un voile au ciel s'étend que nulle main ne lève ;
Du milieu des déserts une plainte se lève
Une plainte descend du soleil qui s'éteint.
Et ce fantôme vain, la nature elle-même
Malgré ses mille voix aux doux enchantements,
Qui sont l'écho trompeur de tous nos sentiments,
N'a rien dans ses deux mains de spectre vide et blême.'

Et ceux-ci, dignes de Dante, qu'ils rappellent, et qui nous font songer aussi à Vigny et à Musset :

'L'éclat de mon bonheur a-t-il vraiment été
Aussi pur et parfait que je me plais à dire ?
L'astre, source du jour, nos yeux ne le voient luire
Que parsemé d'ilôts errants d'obscurité.
Est-ce que, traversant la brume des douleurs
Un bonheur d'autrefois paraît plus grand aux hommes ?
Ou bien l'humilité de l'état où nous sommes
Donne-t-elle au passé plus brillantes couleurs ?

Ou peut-être le temps, reculant pas à pas,
Lorsqu'il devient lointain de gloire s'aurole;
L'orbe entier resplendit sous la sombre coupole,
Mais, y vivant, nos yeux ne le connaissaient pas.*

Et ceux-ci encore—et il faudrait presque tout citer—
qui sont la plus belle expression possible de la douleur
s'évanouissant dans l'espérance :

' Mon amour s'enrichit de tout l'ancien amour ;
Des passions de l'homme il franchit la mesure ;
Et lorsque tu te perds en Dieu, dans la nature,
Il me semble t'aimer plus encor chaque jour.

A jamais près de toi, quoique tu sois très loin,
Mon bonheur est fondé sur ta chère présence ;
Ta voix m'entoure comme une heureuse influence
Et quand viendra la mort je ne te perdrai point.*

En 1852 parut 'L'Ode sur la mort du Duc de Wellington,' ouvrage d'allure pindarique, qui nous paraît un peu décousu et d'inspiration courte ou plutôt de telle nature qu'il semble dû à la volonté plus qu'à l'inspiration. En général les sujets patriotiques traités par Tennyson ('La Charge de la Brigade légère,' 'Le Vaisseau "Le Revenge,"' etc.), très populaires en Angleterre, ne disent que peu de chose à notre cœur et à notre esprit, et il ne semble pas qu'il faille en accuser notre 'chauvinisme,' puisque 'Les Ballades de la Caserne' de Kipling nous paraissent admirablement vivantes et font sur nous une très puissante impression. Pour nous le patriotisme de Tennyson est savant et froid.

En 1885 parut le curieux poème intitulé 'Maud, monodrame.' Le sous-titre indique la nature de la composition de l'œuvre. C'est un monologue qui se déroule concurremment aux événements mêmes qui sont racontés. Une pauvre maison. Un jeune homme y habite qui n'a plus ni père ni mère. Son père est mort d'une façon tragique, et nul n'a pu savoir si c'était par un assassinat ou par un suicide. Le jeune homme vit seul avec les hallucinations de son esprit malade. Le lord du château voisin, qui fut dans sa jeunesse ami du père du jeune malheureux, mais

* Les vers français cités ici sont extraits de la traduction de 'In Memoriam' par M. Léon Morel.

qui, depuis, a bien pu être l'auteur de sa ruine et de sa mort, a laissé deux enfants, un fils, hobereau plein de morgue et de brutalité, une fille, Maud, qui doit être maintenant une grande jeune fille. Le jeune homme malheureux revoit Maud plusieurs fois. Un amour tumultueux et tragique naît au cœur du solitaire. Il se sent aimé, du reste il l'est; il renaît à l'espoir. Dans une entrevue avec Maud, surpris par le frère, qui rêve pour sa sœur une union plus noble, il est frappé et, en duel, frappe à son tour et tue le frère de celle qu'il aime. Nous le retrouvons, expatrié, en Bretagne et sombrant dans la mer noire de la folie. Enfin, il part pour la guerre de Crimée en déclamant un peu sur les mœurs basses de l'époque où il a vécu et sur la vertu revivifiante de la guerre. Ce roman en vers—genre que Tennyson a beaucoup aimé et où il a pleinement réussi—renferme de grandes beautés et laisse voir de singulières faiblesses. Une psychologie étonnamment pénétrante d'une âme forte ravagée par la douleur, des parties lyriques dignes des plus grands poètes lyriques, une véhémence et éloquente satire sociale, une variété de rythmes prodigieuse et très savamment maniée; à côté de cela des étrangetés, des puérités, quelque chose comme des balbutiements qui étonnent et déconcertent, voilà de quoi est fait ce poème que nous goûtons fort; mais que nous admirerions davantage si nous étions en 1830.

En 1859 commencèrent les 'Idylles du Roi.' J'entends qu'à cette époque parurent quatre de ces poèmes qui devaient être portés de 1859 à 1885 au nombre de douze. Le public n'y vit en 1859 que quatre portraits de femmes idéales—'Enide,' 'Viviane,' 'Elaine,' 'Genièvre.' Il fut agréablement détrompé et se vit en face d'un grand poème épique lorsque Tennyson ajouta successivement huit épisodes et quand le poème se présenta ainsi: 'La Venue d'Arthur,' 'La Table ronde,' 'Gareth et Lynette,' 'Le Mariage de Geraint,' 'Geraint et Enide,' 'Balin et Balan,' 'Merlin et Viviane,' 'Lancelot et Elaine,' 'Le Saint-Graal,' 'Pelleas et Etarre,' 'Le dernier Tournoi,' 'Genièvre,' 'La Mort d'Arthur.' Tennyson réalisait le grand dessein auquel Milton avait songé, de faire une épopée d'Arthur. Cette grande œuvre, d'une puissance singulière, d'un éclat soutenu, d'une science et d'une adresse d'évocation et résurrection qui semblaient

perdues et que Tennyson retrouvait sans effort, rétablit, plus haute et plus ferme que jamais, la réputation de Tennyson que paraissait avoir ébranlée un peu la gloire grandissante de William Morris, Browning, D. G. Rossetti, Swinburne, et autres. Désormais, il n'y eut presque plus de contestation et Tennyson fut bien reconnu et consacré comme prince de la Poésie anglaise.

'*Enoch Arden*' parut en 1864. Tennyson s'y reposait de travaux plus rudes. C'était un petit roman en vers très simple, très uni, volontairement très naïf, sans ambition lyrique et sans visées philosophiques, quelque chose comme un 'conte moral' de Marmontel ou une nouvelle de Dickens que l'on eût écrite en beaux vers. Dans un petit village de pêcheurs s'élèvent trois enfants qui ne se quittent guère : Enoch, Philip, et Annie. Leur amitié d'enfance devient de l'amour. Enoch et Philip deviennent également amoureux d'Annie ; Annie les voit tous deux d'un œil sympathique. Elle penche finalement pour Enoch, parce qu'Enoch est plus hardi et ose parler. Elle l'épouse. Enoch la rend d'abord très heureuse, étant le meilleur pêcheur de vingt lieues à la ronde. Mais un jour il se casse la jambe, et le malheur entre dans la maison. Rétabli, Enoch, pour réparer les brèches faites au patrimoine, s'embarque avec une pacotille sur un navire au long cours. Pendant son absence Annie tiendra un petit commerce d'objets à l'usage des pêcheurs. Des mois passent, puis des années ; Enoch ne revient pas. Il a fait naufrage, comme Annie ne le prévoyait que trop bien, et il vit, comme Robinson, dans une île déserte qui n'est pas sur le passage des vaisseaux. Philip, qui ne s'est pas marié et qui vit très confortablement du produit de son moulin, console Annie, la secourt, met ses enfants à l'école, devient l'ami de la famille ; les enfants lui disent : 'papa.' Il n'a pas cessé d'aimer Annie. Il lui propose enfin, après beaucoup d'hésitations, de l'épouser. Enoch, cela est trop certain, ne reviendra plus.

Annie hésite ; elle ne peut se persuader qu'Enoch est absent sans retour. Sa conscience la retient ; elle a comme des remords préventifs. Elle demande à Philip un an de délai, et l'année écoulée elle lui demande encore quelques mois. Et ces quelques mois passés elle recule encore. Dans la simplicité de son âme superstitieuse elle demande au ciel un signe pour l'éclairer. En songe,

elle voit Enoch sous un palmier et elle en conclut qu'il est au ciel. Elle épouse Philip et elle en a un petit garçon.

Enoch revient. Un vaisseau jeté hors de sa route par la tempête l'a recueilli et ramené. Il arrive à son village, ne demande rien à personne, n'est reconnu non plus par personne, tant les années et les souffrances l'ont changé, et marche droit à sa maison. Elle est vide; un écriteau dit qu'elle est à vendre. Enoch redescend vers le port en se disant: 'Elle est morte, ou elle est morte pour moi.' Il prend gîte chez une très vieille femme qui connaît toute l'histoire du pays. Il apprend tout et il se tait. Et puis il demande des nouvelles de lui-même: 'Enoch? Il a fait naufrage et il s'est perdu.' Il répète, 'Perdu!'^{*} Il va, bientôt, errer auprès du cottage de Philip. Il se glisse comme un voleur à l'heure du souper dans le jardin et il voit sans être vu. Il voit Philip, il voit Annie, il voit ses enfants à lui, Enoch, et il en voit un de plus. 'Or, quand ce mort revenu à l'existence vit sa femme qui n'était plus sa femme et vit son enfant à elle qui n'était pas son enfant à lui sur le genou du père, et tout ce bien-être et toute cette paix et tout ce bonheur et ses propres enfants grands et beaux, lui, l'autre, régnant à sa place, maître de ses droits et de l'amour de ses enfants; alors bien que Miriam Lane lui eût tout dit, comme cependant les choses vues sont plus puissantes que les choses entendues, il chancela et se mit à trembler, se retenant à la branche et craignant de laisser échapper un cri déchirant et terrible, qui en un moment, comme la trompette du jugement, aurait mis en pièce tout le bonheur de ce foyer.'[†]

Il se retire, continue à ne se point faire connaître et à ne pas être reconnu, travaille obscurément, vit ainsi une année entière, puis quand il se sent mourir révèle son nom à sa vieille hôtesse et lui enjoint, quand il sera mort,

^{*} Seulement en note et pour ainsi dire pudiquement, je ferai une critique. On voudrait que la certitude de la mort d'Enoch fût plus grande chez les habitants du petit port et chez Annie, que par exemple on eût retrouvé des débris du bateau où s'était embarqué Enoch, qu'on les eût très précisément identifiés et que cela eût été rapporté aux marins du petit port et à Annie. Il me semble que Dickens n'eût pas manqué de faire ainsi. Tennyson traite le sujet plus largement ou, si l'on préfère, moins minutieusement, de plus haut, en poète. Soit.

[†] Traduction de Al. Beljame.

d'aller dire à Annie qu'il lui a pardonné et qu'il l'a aimée jusqu'au dernier jour.

Cette histoire, mille fois racontée avant et après Tennyson, ne l'a jamais été avec la puissance tragique, l'intensité d'émotion, la beauté morale que Tennyson, tout en restant très simple et très populaire, a su y mettre. Ajoutons qu'à différents degrés tous les personnages de ce petit drame ont l'instinct du dévouement et du sacrifice. Philip, sans espérance d'abord et pendant des années, ne s'est pas marié parce qu'il aimait Annie et parce que, Enoch parti, il a senti qu'Annie avait besoin d'un protecteur ; Annie, contre le mouvement de son cœur, a repoussé Philip très longtemps parce qu'elle supposait contre toute vraisemblance et espérait contre toute espérance qu'Enoch reviendrait, et si enfin elle épouse Philip c'est surtout le second père de ses enfants qu'elle épouse ; et enfin, il est inutile de dire qu'Enoch est le représentant même du dévouement, de l'abnégation et du sacrifice humblement héroïque. Tous ces personnages sont d'honnêtes gens et de braves gens dans le sens entier de ce mot un peu usé, c'est-à-dire des gens courageusement honnêtes. On s'étonne qu'il y ait eu quelques critiques, non pas beaucoup à la vérité, pour incriminer la moralité d'Enoch Arden.' Ce touchant et pur poème est, avec 'In Memoriam,' celle des œuvres de Tennyson qui est la plus estimée et la plus admirée en pays de France.

En 1867 parut 'La Fenêtre, ou le Chant des Roitelets,' fantaisie très gracieuse et très délicate. En 1875, 'La Reine Marie,' drame, joué par Irving au Lycéum en 1876, sans succès. Tennyson ne réussit jamais au théâtre, dont il n'avait pas le don et où, du reste, il s'était mis trop tard. On ne connaît pas d'exemple, sauf peut-être tout récemment en France, d'auteur ayant réussi au théâtre en l'abondant à la fin de sa carrière. En 1876 'Harold,' drame. En 1880 'Ballades et autres poèmes' ; 'Le Faucon,' drame. En 1881 'La Coupe,' drame, et en 1882 'La Promesse de Mai,' drame, joués tous les deux sans succès. On dit que Tennyson ressentit profondément l'échec surtout du second, sur lequel il avait fondé de grandes espérances. En 1884 'Becket,' drame. Cette œuvre, jouée par Irving en 1891 sans succès éclatant, a remporté depuis la mort de Tennyson le plus grand triomphe qu'aucune pièce de

théâtre en vers ait obtenu sur la scène anglaise moderne. Elle est en effet d'une ampleur et d'une grandeur singulièrement imposante. En 1885 'Tirésias et autres poèmes' n'ajoutent ni n'ôtent rien à la gloire de Tennyson. On y remarque une très belle invocation à Virgile. Tennyson semble désormais en pleine possession d'un art qui ne fléchit pas et qui se repose sûrement dans une perfection acquise sans variation ni renouvellement. Il faut en dire autant de 'Locksley Hall soixante ans après,' qui est un retour, heureux, du reste, de Tennyson vers la manière et les sujets de sa jeunesse. En 1889 il donna 'Déméter et autres poèmes,' qui parut presque à la date même où mourait le grand émule de Tennyson, Browning. En 1892, dernier drame, 'Les Forestiers,' qui fut joué à New York et à Londres. En 1892 Tennyson meurt. Il laisse un recueil : 'La mort d'Œnone'—souvenez-vous de 'L'Œnone' de 1833—suivie de quelques autres poèmes. Dans son recueil de 1889 il avait envisagé sa mort prochaine dans le petit poème, douloureux mais serein, intitulé 'Crossing the Bar' ('Quand je passerai la barre').

M. Edmond Gosse a dit, non sans quelque vérité, non sans quelque sévérité aussi, que Tennyson a tenu pendant soixante ans (1832-1892) la poésie anglaise dans l'immobilité. L'illustre critique entend par là que Tennyson a trouvé très jeune sa formule, comme nous disons, son tour d'imagination, qu'il a peu évolué et qu'il a attiré les regards et les préoccupations des hommes vers un idéal poétique qui ne variait pas. Il est exact que sa personnalité poétique a été très une, et qu'il n'a jamais risqué en relisant ses œuvres d'autrefois de ne point se reconnaître. Son âge mûr ne s'est distingué de sa jeunesse que par un effort vers une plus grande variété de sujets et plus d'extension et d'ampleur dans la façon de les traiter ; sa vieillesse ne l'a été que par un retour aux formes et aux thèmes de sa jeunesse ; et en somme on perdrait son temps à chercher trois ou quatre manières successives et différentes dans la carrière pourtant si longue de l'illustre poète anglais.

Cette fidélité à soi-même, qui n'est du reste ni une qualité ni un défaut et qui ne serait à regretter que chez un médiocre, est un phénomène assez fréquent chez les peintres ou sculpteurs, très rare chez les poètes ou

romanciers, à ne compter, comme cela s'entend, que ceux qui ont vécu et produit longtemps. C'est la caractéristique même d'Alfred Tennyson.

Étant donné cette fixité de l'inspiration artistique de Tennyson, il semblerait que sa manière et ses facultés maîtresses fussent très faciles à définir. Il n'en est rien. Tennyson est très difficilement réductible à une formule ou, sans parler de définition, à une 'caractérisation' précise. Si l'on consulte, comme un étranger doit le faire, sinon avec soumission, du moins avec modestie, les critiques anglais, on trouvera que ce qui distingue Tennyson des autres poètes ou du moins de beaucoup d'autres c'est d'abord la richesse d'images visuelles s'étalant avec plénitude, abondantes et fécondes aussi en ce qu'elles se suggèrent les unes les autres; et c'est ensuite l'harmonie verbale, à savoir musique des voyelles, des syllabes, des mots, des vers, des strophes, flexibilité du rythme, allitérations expressives, onomatopées, le tout aboutissant à peindre la pensée par les sonorités et par les rythmes autant que par les mots et les images. Rien de plus juste assurément; mais cela ne distingue point essentiellement Tennyson d'autres poètes anglais et nombreux, comme par exemple Keats et Shelley pour ne pas remonter à Lord Byron; et l'on peut dire que dans tout poète il doit y avoir, que dans tout grand poète il y a, un peintre et un musicien, et qu'en se montrant musicien et peintre Tennyson a pris simplement sa place au Parnasse. La définition précédente de Tennyson serait donc trop large et imparfaite en tant que 'ne s'appliquant pas au seul défini.' Tout au plus peut-on dire que, ce qui frappe *tout d'abord*—chose à la vérité très importante—dans Tennyson c'est à quel point il est artiste, éminemment artiste, plus artiste que beaucoup d'autres, et cela parce qu'il est, et presque toujours en même temps, musicien et peintre.

Ce qui nous paraît être *l'essentiel* de Tennyson c'est le culte fervent et inaltérable de la beauté. Ce que Tennyson a dit de Wordsworth, justement du reste, qu'il n'a jamais pu rien écrire qui fût bas, doit se dire plus justement, plus exactement encore de Tennyson lui-même. La beauté a sa présence réelle dans le cerveau de Tennyson. Et par beauté il faut entendre une harmonie calme et grave de sentiments élevés et de pensées nobles, une

eurythmie de l'âme entière, une allure lente et cadencée du cœur et de l'esprit s'accordant bien et marchant noblement et bellement ensemble. Non au point de vue des idées, mais au point de vue de la plastique mentale, si l'on peut ainsi parler, Tennyson a quelque chose de Platonicien. Qui l'appellerait le Goethe anglais se tromperait à la vérité, car il y a trop de différences, qu'on verra plus loin ; mais pour ce qui est du fond de l'âme et, pour ainsi parler, des assises de l'être intellectuel, il ne se tromperait pas. La même noblesse innée et la même facilité naturelle à habiter les hauteurs est le trait essentiel des deux grands poètes.

Mais la couleur particulière, si l'on peut ainsi dire, de cet instinct de beauté est chez Tennyson un goût pour les beautés touchantes, mélancoliques, légèrement voilées ou estompées de brumes flottantes. Sa muse n'est pas celle des choses violentes ou énormes comme chez Victor Hugo, ni celle des passions violentes comme chez Musset, ni celle du désespoir ou du stoïcisme comme chez Vigny, ni celle des langueurs et des suavités élyséennes comme chez Lamartine (encore qu'il se rapproche plus de ces deux derniers que des deux autres). Sa muse est celle de la beauté dolente et à demi-consolée, de la beauté qui pleure et qui espère, de la beauté qui rappelle et qui se rappelle toujours le *δακρυβέν γελάσσα* de l'antique Homère. Ce qui dès le début attire Tennyson, ce qui exerce son premier talent, ce sont des études de jeunes filles pures et sérieuses, aux grâces décentes, ou des variations de virtuose sur des thèmes comme ceux-ci : 'Tout va mourir,' 'Rien ne mourra,' 'l'amour et la mort,' 'le cygne mourant,' etc. Plus tard, avec la faculté du développement et la faculté de la fiction qui lui vient, il se plaît à envelopper des voiles de la légende les sujets les plus vaporeux qu'il peut trouver ou qu'il imagine. La dame de Shalott, morte, emportée à la dérive dans un esquif sur une rivière, arrive, mystérieuse et funèbre visiteuse, au château de Camelot. 'Sous les tours et les balcons, le long des murs de jardins et des galeries, forme éclatante elle passait, pâle comme la mort, entre les hautes maisons silencieuses, dans Camelot. Tous sur les quais ils accoururent, chevalier, bourgeois, seigneur et dame et sur la proue ils lurent son nom, la dame le Shalott. . .'

De même 'Les Lothophages' sont un rêve d'apaisement

et de douceur triste. Dans leur étrange pays 'où il semblait que ce fût toujours l'après-midi, tout autour des côtes l'air alangui s'assoupissait, respirant comme un dormeur qui fait un rêve triste.' Ici l'impression du sommeil de toutes choses, l'oubli, la lassitude infinie de la vie qui accable 'les lothophages mélancoliques, aux yeux doux' (comparez 'Les Limbes' de Casimir Delavigne) est proprement l'objet sur lequel travaille Tennyson; c'est ce qu'il veut rendre, communiquer, faire passer dans nos âmes et y laisser pour longtemps. Il poursuit ici, comme un peintre, un effet de couleurs et il y réussit à merveille; car il manie en perfection ses outils ordinaires, les harmonies et les images.

Rappelez-vous 'Ænone,' 'le Palais d'Art' (une 'tour d'ivoire' où une âme d'artiste se réfugie, mais d'où elle ressort bien vite effrayée et honteuse de son égoïsme), 'La Mort d'Arthur,' et voyez bien que tous ces sujets se ressemblent par ce caractère commun de douceur sans fadeur, de tristesse sans morbidité, de mélancolie sans souffrance, de lugubre même, parfois, mais sans terreur. Il n'y a pas, ce me semble, de pièce plus caractéristique à cet égard dans l'œuvre de Tennyson que certains chants lyriques dont il a parsemé son poème de 'La Princesse,' purs épanchements de la muse Tennysonienne, sans raison d'être, sans occasion, sans sujet même, en vérité, pure musique de l'âme attristée et sensible, la plus belle du reste qui se soit versée dans des paroles de langue anglaise :

'Des larmes, de vaines larmes, je ne sais ce qu'elles signifient; des larmes jaillies de la profondeur d'un divin désespoir, montent dans le cœur, s'amassent dans les yeux au spectacle des champs heureux de l'automne, au souvenir des jours qui ne sont plus.

'Fraîches comme le premier rayon sur une voile qui ramène nos amis de l'autre côté du monde; tristes comme le dernier rayon qui rougeoit sur une voile qui s'enfonce sous l'horizon avec tous ceux que nous aimons. Si tristes, si frais, les jours qui ne sont plus!

'Oh! Tristes et étranges comme aux aurores grises de l'été le premier chant d'oiseaux à demi éveillés à des oreilles mourantes, lorsqu'à des yeux mourants la croisée devient peu à peu un cadre vaguement lumineux. Si tristes, si étranges, les jours qui ne sont plus!

‘Chers comme des baisers dont on se souvient après la mort et doux comme ceux qu’une fantaisie sans espoir imagine sur des lèvres qui sont pour un autre ; profonds comme l’amour, profonds comme un premier amour et pleins de regret éperdu. O mort dans la vie, les jours qui ne sont plus !’

Toutes les images ici vont au même but, concourent à la même suggestion, se rassemblent dans la même couleur générale et conspirent à produire le même effet sur la sensibilité. Ceci est le poème du regret ou, pour mieux parler, du ressouvenir, de la résurrection spectrale du passé dans le présent ; et il est fait, en son fond, du heurt violent et douloureux de ce que nous avons été avec ce que nous sommes. Personne plus que Tennyson, poète du regret, poète du passé, de son passé, poète de ‘In Memoriam,’ n’a connu la beauté d’une âme veuve, la beauté sublime de ce qu’il y a de douloureux en même temps que de consolateur dans la caresse inquiète et timide que l’on donne à ce qui n’est plus. Remarquez qu’ici comme dans bien d’autres œuvres de Tennyson, les mots mêmes, par la place où ils sont posés, ont un *ton*, un *timbre*, que nulle traduction ne peut rendre ; ils sonnent la désespérance et aussi la tendre et douce résignation. Ce ‘no more’ sur lequel Edgar Poe, dans son poème du ‘Corbeau,’ fera encore des variations dans une tonalité plus lugubre, est comme de la famille de ces mots ou expressions—‘far, far away,’ par exemple—qui avaient pour Tennyson enfant une séduction, un charme inexprimables. Cela rappelle un peu la fascination que certaines notes exerçaient sur notre Victor Hugo. Il dit quelque part qu’il trouvait le mot ‘empereur’ d’une sonorité si splendide qu’il eût volontiers nommé un de ses fils de ce nom-là si les lois de son pays le lui avaient permis. La musique des mots somptueux pour Victor Hugo ; la musique des mots crépusculaires, des mots lointains, des mots qui semblent toujours être prononcés par un personnage mêlé aux demi-ténèbres, pour Tennyson ; voilà qui aide à imaginer les caractéristiques, si différentes, si essentiellement différentes de l’un et de l’autre.

Tennyson est descendu un jour à l’Élysée, vers 1834 ou 1835, ayant pour guide Dante, comme Dante avait eu pour guide Virgile. Il y voulait trouver son ami. Il l’a trouvé, en effet, car on trouve tout ce qu’on cherche

d'une âme pure et ardente et, comme a dit Pascal : 'Tu ne me chercherais pas si tu ne m'avais pas déjà trouvé.' Il le trouva, et son ami lui dit : 'Tu me reconnais, comme Énée reconnut Palinure. A Énée, Palinure ne fit aucune promesse ni aucune prédiction parce qu'il n'avait point lieu de se féliciter de lui ni de lui être très reconnaissant, et Énée se montrait assez égoïste sous la terre comme sur la terre. Virgile était un poète admirablement doué comme artiste, mais si niais en son fond ou si pessimiste, et l'on n'a jamais su lequel, qu'il prenait pour héros un personnage antipathique sans s'en apercevoir ou de propos délibéré et par une gageure pleine d'ironie, et c'est sur quoi on disputera et l'on hésitera longtemps. Mais toi et aussi ton guide et ton maître, vous n'êtes pas de même sorte. Vous êtes de grandes âmes et vous avez le culte de la douleur, ce qui est ce que l'âme humaine a trouvé de meilleur. Donc je fais pour toi une prophétie très favorable et qui est celle-ci : Tu réaliseras ce que j'ai rêvé. Tu vivras très longtemps et tu vivras toujours pour l'art et pour la beauté ; mais tu porteras mon âme en toi. Très vivant tu porteras en toi une âme morte, comme disent les hommes, c'est-à-dire une âme très pure, très chaste, très triste, très mélancolique, et très sereine, une âme qui n'aura pas bu les eaux du Léthé, mais qui aura approché des rives de ce fleuve et qui en aura comme goûté les senteurs et aspiré l'haleine. Tu chanteras la beauté, la sérénité, la tristesse et l'espérance. Tu ne sépareras jamais celle-ci de celle-là, estimant, comme il est vrai, que la tristesse sans l'espérance est un pur néant, et que l'espérance qui n'est pas née de la tristesse est une vulgarité sordide qui, non seulement n'est point poétique, mais même est indigne d'un être pensant. Ainsi tu iras parmi les hommes quelquefois les étonnant, quelquefois peu compris d'eux, toujours produisant sur eux une impression singulière, toujours paraissant celui qui revient de loin, qui a eu et qui a encore commerce avec l'au-delà, et qui a pour déesse familière la muse lointaine. De loin, de très loin, sera ta devise ; de loin, de très loin paraîtra toujours venir ta voix.'

Ainsi parla son ami et Tennyson revint sur la terre sans vouloir en savoir plus des choses d'en bas. Il fut fidèle au programme qui lui avait été dicté par la bouche d'ombre. Sa préférence constante pour la beauté calme

ou triste, son horreur évidente pour les irrégularités, les outrances et les éclats, est la cause de ceci, qu'on a remarqué unanimement, que jamais un vers de Tennyson n'est médiocre ou plat, que jamais la poésie de Tennyson n'est au-dessous ni au-dessus de la ligne nette et pure qui lui est habituelle. Mais ce sens du beau mesuré et du sentiment qui se modère a peut-être été la cause aussi de certaine défaveur qui, depuis sa mort, semble mordre un peu sur sa gloire.

Sachons nous confesser: notre H. Taine, dans son 'Histoire de la Littérature anglaise,' fut très dur pour Tennyson. Il le considéra comme un dilettante, un poète de 'keepsake,' sans passion et par conséquent sans grandeur. Tennyson lui apparut ainsi en 1864 alors, sans doute, que Tennyson était riche, heureux, favori de la Reine, poète officiel, etc. Mais Taine ignorait ou a voulu ne pas savoir les dix-sept ans de souffrances et de misère, de douleurs physiques et morales qu'avait traversées le poète heureux. Il est très vain de discuter sur ce qu'un poète ou un écrivain quelconque aurait pu faire; mais le malheureux qui, ruiné, frappé au cœur par la mort d'un ami, séparé de sa fiancée, faillit deux fois perdre la raison et une fois perdre la vie, qui connut les mornes tristesses de la 'maison de santé,' comme nous disons par antiphrase, cet homme avait en lui tous les caractères et tous les éléments d'un poète passionné et d'un poète morbide. Seulement de tout cela il ne voulut pas 'faire de la littérature.' Ce fut très conscient chez lui. N'a-t-il pas dit (et faites-y bien attention): 'Le respect de soi, la connaissance de soi, et la maîtrise de soi, voilà les trois seules vertus qui mènent la vie au souverain pouvoir' ('Enone')? Tennyson s'est peint ici et a peint, ce nous semble, l'Anglais lui-même, du moins l'Anglais d'il y a cinquante ans, qui avait quelque répugnance aux poèmes trop confidentiels, qui trouvait que le théâtre français, à peindre les passions dans toute leur force et dans toutes leurs faiblesses, manquait de dignité, qui estimait, non sans raison, que ne pas savoir se dominer est une déchéance et un ridicule.

Voilà la très forte et très respectable discipline morale que Tennyson a prise très au sérieux, qu'il a suivie ou plutôt qu'il avait innée en lui. Il tenait à maintenir l'équilibre de son âme comme à développer harmonieusement son corps d'athlète. 'J'estime parfois, disait-il—

au plus aigu de sa douleur—que c'est presque un péché d'exprimer la souffrance que j'éprouve; car les mots, comme la nature, révèlent à demi, cachent à demi l'âme qui est au dedans' ('In Memoriam').

C'est cela qui fait de Tennyson un 'homme représentatif,' éminemment, de la race anglaise. Il est avant tout un artiste et un grand artiste; mais un artiste qui n'oublie jamais qu'il est homme et ce qu'est un homme et ce que ce mot signifie. C'est un artiste qui veut qu'on l'estime comme homme, comme il s'estime lui-même. C'est un artiste, mais qui a des préoccupations morales, et que ses préoccupations morales, non seulement n'empêchent point d'être artiste, mais aident au contraire dans son rôle d'artiste en lui donnant l'inquiétude sacrée—et féconde—sur les destinées de l'humanité. C'est un artiste, avant tout et après tout, mais qui a des idées philosophiques, et que ses idées philosophiques ne gênent pas dans son office d'artiste, mais secondent plutôt en donnant à ses rêveries, à ses visions, à ses contemplations un arrière plan, un fond de décor, une toile de fond aux perspectives illimitées qui se confondent avec l'infini.

Est-il vrai, comme on me le dit, que, dans cette rivalité qui ne cessa pas dans le tombeau (comme dit Malherbe d'Étéocle et Polynice), Browning commence à l'emporter sur Tennyson? Si le fait était vrai, je ne manquerais pas de raisons pour l'expliquer ou plutôt pour m'en rendre compte à moi-même. Browning est un précieux ami de tous les jours. Il est solide, il est sérieux, il est *essentiel*, pour employer un mot excellent de la meilleure époque de notre langue. A cet Anglais, très respectable et très sympathique, que vous voyez d'ici, qui ne veut point de discours en l'air, qui ne veut point d'art sans une leçon morale, qui ne veut point de sermon sans un petit noyau solide qu'on en peut garder pour le reste de la semaine, qui a besoin de 'l'os à ronger' avec patience et recueillement, à cet Anglais parfaitement digne d'approbation du reste et qui encore ne manque ni de goût ni du sentiment du beau, Browning est ce que nous appelons une quantité suffisante et nécessaire; Browning le poète penseur, surchargé de philosophie, un peu obscur quelquefois, mais qui fait réfléchir, qui force à méditer et qui rend intelligent.

Il faudrait regretter pourtant que le poète artiste à

qui ne manqua du reste ni le levain moral singulièrement vivace et actif, ni la courte mais suggestive méditation philosophique, baissât dans l'estime et dans le culte des hommes.

Quelques critiques anglais, avec une sorte de timidité scrupuleuse qui, du reste, est toute à leur éloge, hésitent à se prononcer sur Tennyson, à trouver sur lui une définition précise, à le situer en une place marquée parmi les poètes anglais. Sa gloire trouble encore notre jugement, semblent-ils dire; et il convient de s'en remettre à la postérité pour la décision définitive. Pour nous, parfaitement convaincu d'ailleurs qu'un étranger est toujours mauvais juge, mais soucieux d'exprimer notre impression et cela seul, et affranchi de timidité par le sentiment même de notre incompétence, qui nous permet de n'être qu'un témoin naïf, bien éloigné de prétendre à être un juge; nous dirons, qu'à notre avis, Tennyson est comme le rendez-vous en un seul homme de tous les genres de poésie qui avaient brillé dans la génération précédente; qu'il a profité de toutes les imaginations qui s'étaient déployées et épanchées immédiatement avant lui; qu'il les a ramassées et unifiées en lui, les mêlant à sa substance et les exprimant à nouveau dans une forme qui est bien à lui-même et à lui seul et par conséquent d'une façon parfaitement originale. Son tempérament fut de sentir très vivement ce qu'avaient senti ses prédécesseurs; son talent fut de donner à ces sentiments des cadres nouveaux (fictions, rêveries, légendes); son art fut de trouver une forme et des rythmes qui ne devaient rien à personne. Il a mis en beauté ou, si l'on veut, en une beauté plus pure, plus noble, et plus magnifique, les rêves et les sentiments de ceux qui étaient venus avant lui. Il les a mis, comme aurait dit Sainte-Beuve, sous le rayon. Il a arrêté en statues de marbre ou en bas-reliefs du Parthénon les vapeurs flottantes et sinueuses.

Laissons les métaphores pour dire simplement, en sentant du reste comme nous sommes incomplet, qu'il a eu une sensibilité romantique trouvant la perfection classique pour s'exprimer. Tel il nous apparaît en ses lignes générales. Le détail est infini, et l'on s'y perdrait comme dans la forêt des enchantements.

ÉMILE FAGUET.

Art. 2.—EVOLUTION AND THE CHURCH.

1. *Christentum und Religion*. By Dr Otto Pfeleiderer. Vol. i, 'Die Entstehung des Christentums'; vol. ii, 'Die Entwicklung des Christentums'; vol. iii, 'Religion und Religionen.' Munich: Lehmann, 1905-7.
2. *Kirchengeschichte im Grundriss*. By Rudolf Sohm. Leipzig: Ungleich, 1902. (Fifteenth edition, 1907.)
3. *Einführung in das theologische Studium*. By Paul Wernle. Tübingen: Mohr, 1908.

A GOOD many years ago, when the English press was disturbed by one of its periodical scares at the prospect of a Russian advance in Central Asia, Lord Salisbury advised the panic-mongers to send for a large map. His meaning was, not that the defence of the Indian frontier was a matter of indifference, but that the danger was less imminent than they supposed. There was reason, there is always reason, for precaution; none for alarm. The same holds of religion. Many good men fear for its future. As knowledge advances, faith, it seems to them, recedes. What is gained for the former is lost to the latter; the tide comes up, now clamorous, now silent, but always irresistible, and covers what was once dry land. And, as it rises, the sense of the ideal element in life, they think, becomes atrophied; a practical materialism goes hand in hand with indifference and unbelief.

For this state of mind, in so far as it is distinct from that of the 'laudator temporis acti'—an attitude which is not peculiar to the old, being a matter less of age than of temperament—there is this apparent justification, that not a few of the beliefs of the past are no longer ours. This fact may be interpreted in one of two ways. It may mean that these beliefs, as such, are dead or dying. Such has been the lot of beliefs so ancient and so widely spread as those in witchcraft and in astrology; we have outgrown them; they have simply disappeared. Or it may mean that the ideas for which they stand are undergoing a process of transformation preparatory to entering upon a new and fuller life. For a religious belief is a complex, often a highly complex, whole. It takes form and gathers accretions from the various strata of civilisation and thought through which it passes; the reason

being that it is not an abstract idea, but a concrete mental fact, existing under definite conditions, in a particular environment, and in the consciousness of individual men who occupy the standpoint of their time and place. Its content, therefore, is variable. It is not easy to recognise its later in its earlier stages, or to predict its future development from the shape in which it appears to-day. Take, for example, the belief in a future life. It is a long way from the thin shades of Homer, or the race-continuity of the Old Testament, to the notion of personal and individual immortality. And now, it seems, this too is breaking up under the pressure of interior contradiction, and revealing a larger conception. To many, individual immortality presents itself as a side only, and that a subordinate side, of the future that awaits us. It is possible, they think, that, while retaining all that is worth retaining in the individual self, all without which this self would become as if it were not and had never been, the individual may be merged in the whole—in God, in man, and in Nature—as a drop in the ocean, penetrated and penetrating. Such a conception does not destroy that of personal immortality, it completes it. Sown in weakness, the original belief is raised in power. The earlier stages lead up to and must be judged by the later; they stand to it as the seedling to the tree.

So with the rest. With regard at least to vital truths, it is their form, not their substance, that is changing; the persistence of force holds in thought as in things. And while it is true that this change is accompanied by risk and open to misconception, that in some it produces perplexity and in others an uncertainty which too easily passes into unbelief, these states of mind are passing. The large map is the corrective. When we look away from the small issues and interests of contemporary controversy to the larger field of history, the conviction grows upon us that we need not be afraid. A premature, indeed, may be as mischievous as an outgrown synthesis; there are times when the truest wisdom is to know how to wait. But a survey of the past shows that the ideas, the feelings, and the activities which constitute and are the outcome of religion are part of our nature; that in one shape or another they have been with us from the beginning till now. And this necessarily, for they spring

from the constitution of the mind and its relation to its environment; from its consciousness both of what is—the limit—and of what ought to be—the limit overcome. In the opposition between these poles their reconciliation is already given, though implicitly, and as a truth of anticipation rather than of demonstration; as immediate experience to be elaborated in life and mind. It acquires colour, form, and content as generation succeeds generation; but it is present all along in consciousness, and can only be overlooked or misinterpreted in so far as our analysis of consciousness is at fault. It is no doubt conceivable that the universe as known to us is mirage and phantasmagoria; that Nature, our own human nature included, is designed to mislead and deceive us. If a man insists that this is so, we cannot disprove it by reasoning; 'solvitur ambulando' is the only argument by which he can be met. But it is sufficient. By its working in history and in experience we judge that the religious instinct, not indeed in its relative and necessarily imperfect manifestations, whether of earlier or later date, but in itself, as underlying and struggling with these limitations towards complete expression and actuality, at once posits itself and postulates its object. Pragmatism justifies the thought judgment; the real is the rational, and the rational the real.

Prof. Pfleiderer's death in an honoured and honourable old age recalls labours for the advancement of religion and learning begun in early life and continued to the end. The ideas which he represented have suffered a temporary eclipse. Other conceptions, complementary rather than conflicting, have come into prominence, for truth is many-sided, and perhaps from no one standpoint can it be surveyed as a whole. But in 'Christentum und Religion' there is neither retreat nor uncertainty. The view held in youth is retained in age, and set forth with the vigour of maturity; the mind is stronger as the physical forces decay. The ground idea is the unity of the religious consciousness; the questions of to-day are inseparable from those of the past, and from the larger problems of psychology and speculative thought in general; the world, whether of fact or idea, is one. The hard and fast lines of demarcation, which we so easily take as absolute, are in truth relative. We use them on

the surface of life; and, as the greater part of our life is lived on the surface, they impose themselves upon us as authoritative and final. They are neither the one nor the other; variable and varying, they exist for thought, not in things. Midday, indeed, is light, and midnight dark. But what shall we say of dawn, or twilight? We cannot assign them definitely either to light or darkness; it is matter of relation and degree. So of religious beliefs and practices. Are they true or false, good or evil? How often it is impossible to answer by a simple yes or no! The question is too complex for so summary a solution; the colours are mixed. And our choice lies not between good and evil—that were easy—but between rival and apparently conflicting goods; not between truth and falsehood—else who could hesitate?—but between truths which we do not see our way to combine. Neither is complete; but each, it seems, has claims upon us; hence perplexity. The lesson being tolerance, a large appreciation, a readiness to put the best, which is generally the truest, construction on men and things. Particularly should this be so in the subject-matter under consideration. None of the many forms of religion is adequate either in itself or in its working. None, for all that, fails in its measure to reflect its object, to sustain, enlighten, and inspire.

To this conception of the unity of religion and religious experience Prof. Pfleiderer adds that of its evolution; here, as elsewhere, an interior necessity determines the process of things. And this process is from less to more, each stage being conditioned by the past and conditioning the future; no place for the arbitrary, the non-natural, the transcendent, is left. If this holds in history, as it holds generally in science, then

‘at no particular point can the Absolute intervene emancipated from the universal law which subjects all that is included in the process of becoming to the conditions of time and space. Least of all can such an intervention take place at the opening of the series, when the new growth which is shaping itself is naturally most encumbered by and most embedded in the old, and consequently exhibits its differentiating features in their least distinctive form’ (ii, 7).

This theory, which is identified with the name of

F. C. Baur, gave in its time a new direction to theological thought. It is not too much to say that what Kepler and Copernicus did for astronomy, Baur and the Tübingen school did for the history of the Church and of dogma. Of late years, as has been said, its influence has been less marked. It was felt, not without reason, that the use made of it was at times arbitrary; that there was a perceptible tendency among those who adopted it to fit the facts to the theory rather than the theory to the facts. The results obtained by a detailed examination of the sources led to the growth of a distinctively historical school in which positive science replaced speculation, and a distrust of formula—which seemed, in the last resort, little more than a way, one of many possible ways, of putting things—prevailed. Of this school Ritschl and Harnack are the principal representatives. In the case of the latter it is too much to speak of the 'old Protestant theory of the deterioration and apostasy,' or of the 'decline and secularisation of Christianity.' He expressly disclaims this pathological account of the matter;* and his conception of the inevitableness of the historical development of the Church and of dogma approaches, on the one hand, the Tübingen theory, and, on the other, that put forward by M. Loisy in his famous 'L'Évangile et l'Eglise.' Just as little can we accept Wernle's summary rejection of the Hegelian philosophy of religion—'Welche Kluft trennt die konkreten Phänomene von jenem sublimen "Wesen der Religion"!' or, contrasting the older *Dogmatik* of Pfleiderer or Biedermann with the later work of Tröltzsch in the same field, describe the latter as "völlig anders orientierte."† To accentuate differences of method and standpoint to this extent is to forget the substantial unity of aim and thought. Hegelianism, if a particular, was a uniquely inspiring and inspired reading of and generalisation from facts. Of such generalisations, as of the several perspectives which they represent, it may be said that all are at once false and true. None, that is to say, is exhaustive; none, on the other hand, fails to present an aspect, often an essential aspect, of the truth.

It was so in the case of Baur's epoch-making theory.

* 'Pathologisch ist hier nichts.' 'Dogmengeschichte,' iii. Preface to 3rd edition.

† 'Einführung in das theologische Studium,' pp. 290, 328.

Fifty years have passed since his death; and in detail—how could it be otherwise?—he has been corrected. No one to-day regards the Mark Gospel as a secondary source of the Synoptic tradition; no one who ascribes the Epistles to the Romans, Galatians, and Corinthians to Paul questions the substantial authenticity of that to the Philippians. 'Baur's grasp was firmer on standpoint than on persons,' says Jülicher. 'He regarded Christian origins too exclusively from one side; his knowledge of the Judaism from which the Apostolic Church emerged was insufficient.'* Here men like Weizsäcker and H. J. Holtzmann have supplemented his teaching; but the decisive step of placing New Testament criticism on the footing of scientific history was taken by Baur. The reproach of speculation, of philosophising, breaks down. In vain would we rid ourselves of the element of speculation. Thought is thought; a philosophical theory, consciously or unconsciously held, underlies the simplest statement of the most rudimentary fact. But the positive writers referred to were led by a reaction against theorising to distrust theory; their endeavour was to confine themselves so far as possible to history conceived as a mere narrative of events. And the lessons both of history and their own religious experience taught them to look back to the first period of the Christian community as its golden age, to go behind the Churches to Christ. Now, by a similar recoil, speculation is coming back strengthened by a natural reaction against the one-sided positivism which refused it the right of citizenship to which it was entitled. It is impossible to resist the argument for Baur's theory. We may take exception to the manner in which this or that writer of the school applies it; but in thought, as in society, there can be no exemption from the common law. As Dr Pfeiderer says:

'In the face of all contradiction—and, for the time being, the weight of opinion is on the other side—I am convinced that, sooner or later, theology must reconcile itself to the consistent admission and logical application of the evolution theory in the province of Biblical and ecclesiastical history. It is only on this condition that it can stand on the level of the other sciences, in which this advance has already been made, and

* 'Die Schriften der N.T.,' p. 30.

share in their progress. Nor are the interests of religion compromised by a method which, like the spear of legend, heals the wounds which it inflicts. It frees the mind, indeed, from the fetters of tradition, inasmuch as it resolves the formulas and institutions of the past into products conditioned by the age in which they originated, and into factors of the evolutionary process of their time. But, foreign as they are to the mind of to-day, it recognises their relative validity and justification as stages in the ascent of the spirit of man from bondage to nature, to freedom in God, and so claims for them respect and reverence' (ii, 7).

Thus dogmatism is broken, not against a rival dogmatism, but against the reason in things which selects, combines, eliminates, and rises by successive stages of its own dialectic to fuller expression and consciousness of self. The danger to which this view of history is open is that of ignoring, or at least minimising, the factor of personality. When Wernle quotes these very words of Pfeiderer as a 'Musterbeispiel für den Mangel des Sinns für originales persönliches Leben in der Geschichte,'* the criticism, severe as it is, is not without justification. Events are neither machine-made products determined by the apparatus of the universe in which they take place, nor the unsubstantial play of abstract categories materialising themselves momentarily on the screen of perception to bring about the time-and-space realisation of a preconceived world-plan. Environment is to personality what the scene is to the actor. The latter conditions, even more than he is conditioned by, the former; he dominates, transmutes, moulds. The main task of the historian, therefore, is the understanding, not of the environment of his period, necessary as this is, but of the personalities at work in it; in Israel the prophets, in Christianity Jesus and Paul. Here, not there, are the springs of action, the sources of life and thought. The element of the marvellous in which such men move need not surprise us. There could be no greater miscalculation than to measure their consciousness by our own. At a certain altitude the conditions of life change; the abnormal of one sphere is the normal of another, the exception the rule. This is the explanation of that core

* 'Einführung in das theologische Studium,' pp. 69, 166.

of wonder which it is impossible to eliminate from the Gospel record. This wonder is relative. It is not easy to render the facts of a wider in the terms of a narrower experience; the marvel of the lower is the routine of the higher plane.

With regard to the general view, one caution must be entered. The evolution theory of which we are speaking must be applied on a universal scale. We go back to Lord Salisbury's large map. Used up to a certain point and no further, employed to account for a particular series of phenomena and then set aside, the theory is misleading and mischievous; it fell into disrepute just because it was taken up in this way for controversial purposes and made to serve unscientific and party ends. It does not mean passive acquiescence in the existing order, that whatever is is right. The Hegelians of the Right used it in this way as an argument against reform and in favour of Prussian bureaucracy. Newman, in his famous 'Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine,' brought it into play against Protestantism and in support of Rome. Not all his great gifts could make the argument other than sophistical. He saw clearly enough through Bossuet's thesis of the perpetuity of the faith. Magnificent and imposing as it was, and splendid as was the rhetoric with which the great bishop drove it home, it was not true. The doctrine and discipline of the Catholic Church differed, and differed widely, from those of early Christianity; the gulf between them widened as time went on. The Christian of the first days would find himself at home rather in the Quaker meeting-house or the Salvation Army hall than in the Roman basilica. It is not in the elaborate ceremonial of the Mass, but in the simple Supper of the Reformed Churches that he would recognise the cup of blessing and the bread broken in remembrance of the Lord.

Yet there was a connexion between the upper and the lower waters. The solid fabric of Catholicism had not risen out of nothing; the various stages of its growth could be traced. What was the nature of this connexion? By a stroke of genius Newman hit upon the notion of development, which, while it had fallen out of vogue in favour of the fallacious but plausible conception of identity, was not new in theology, and was coming to

the front in speculative science, though a generation was to pass before Darwin and Wallace established it in biology and brought together the proof that raised it from hypothesis to fact. The great Oxford divine elaborated it with characteristic ingenuity. His illustrations were, if not convincing, plausible; his evidence, if not conclusive, was selected and disposed with the greatest skill; and the whole argument was enforced by the appeal to emotion—sensibility, reverence, fear, piety—which none could make with such supreme art as he. The fundamental error was the application to a particular institution—the Roman Church—and a particular set of phenomena—the formation of her doctrine and discipline—of a canon which can only be applied with propriety to society and phenomena as a whole. A survey of this larger field would have shown that Rome was a survival, a survival indeed on a vast scale, whose dissolution may be the work of centuries, but still a survival; that it was through the Reformation and, despite of appearances, the Illumination of the eighteenth century, to the critical, positive, but at heart genuinely religious movement of our own time that the line of development led. The theory must take into account such facts as degeneration or reaction, temporary and local, whether on a greater or smaller scale. How often are these written large in history! To deny or overlook them is to involve ourselves in fallacy and contradiction. Will any ingenuity convince us that the Levitical Law was an advance on the prophetic teaching? or the medieval hierarchy on the charismatic ministry of the first days of the Church? From the fact that these later growths were not arbitrary, that their sufficient reason is to be found in the circumstances in which they arose, it does not follow that they were legitimate, much less in the line of progress. Nor can we argue to the institutions themselves from the fact that good men have upheld them. Men are better than their opinions; exceptional men rise above them, and move in a higher air. But we cannot reason from this to the average, concluding, say, that because the Psalms are for the most part post-exilic, or because the 'Following of Christ' comes to us from the Middle Ages, these periods are worthy of imitation, or that the one or the other work expresses the temper of the time. All that were a

entitled to infer is that the spirit works under conditions the least favourable to its working; that under the roughest bark the sap flows.

Nor is this the only reserve that must be made in the application of the theory to history. In the interests of the former it has too often been thought necessary to represent the teaching of the Christ of the Synoptics as standing on a lower level than that of the later Church. The idealism of the Fourth Gospel has been contrasted with the material and particularist standpoint of the Synoptics, with such sayings as those attributed to our Lord with regard to the permanent obligation of the law, the eating and drinking in the kingdom, and the non-canonical but not improbably authentic Logion as to the fertility of the earth in the Messianic age—to every vine a thousand clusters, to every cluster a thousand grapes, to every grape a thousand measures of wine. Such contrasts are inconclusive; it would be easy by a similar disposition of the material to set over against the simplicity and directness of the Synoptics the laboured monologue of the Fourth Gospel, or the cloudy theosophy, the perplexed and perplexing Rabbiniism of St Paul. There is a more excellent way. A certain setting of the Christian idea is inevitable. This idea naturalises itself in the society to which it is addressed; only so can the two come into contact. And the Messianic form of the Gospel, necessary for its reception by Palestinian Jews, was alien to, and incapable of assimilation by, the Gentile world; it presupposed men trained in the Old Testament Scriptures and living under the law. The Gospel was—it always is—larger than its actual setting and circumstance. Plato replaced Moses, Aristotle Plato, as necessarily as Kant and Darwin have replaced the scholastic and evidential apologetic of a later day. The spontaneous cohesion of a little group of enthusiasts, waiting for the coming of the Lord, became impossible when a mixed multitude of converts by circumstance rather than by conviction flocked into what was soon to be a World-Church.

Yet the virtues of mature years are travel-stained. It must be so, perhaps; for they have stood, and must stand, the stress of life. The bloom is off them. Our wisdom borders on disingenuousness, our strength on harshness. Seldom does age pursue the even tenour of

its way. Though 'Heaven lies about us in our infancy,' the purity and freshness of its morning do not return. The words of Christ possess a quality which is wanting in that of Christians; it is not without reason that from the first the instinctive watchword of piety has been, Back to Christ. The demand for the pure Gospel, it is urged, implies a contradiction. If by a pure Gospel is meant one free from relativity, from the influences of time, place, and environment, there never was such a Gospel; there never will or can be. It is in the misconception of the truth contained in this statement that its essential fallacy lies. It is true that a *κένωσις* is implied in the notion of the Incarnation. A God-man possessing at one and the same time two wills and two separate kinds of knowledge, a divine and a human, and using now this, now that, as occasion serves, is at once a figment of theologians and a contradiction in terms. Gloss and tendency in the record apart—and they have to be taken into account—the human element in the words of Christ is beyond question. In their anxiety to claim for him the divine nature, of which we know little, theologians have taken from him the human, of which we know much. Their teaching, however unconsciously, is Docetic; the humanity which it recognises is apparent not real. But, to avoid Docetism, we need not pass to the opposite error, that of the *ψίλος ἄνθρωπος*; a real is not a mere man. It is in the *ψίλος* that the fallacy lies. Man, yes; but 'we are also his offspring'; the *ψίλος ἄνθρωπος* is less than man. The divine and the human are near akin; we fall short of the former in so far as we miss the latter standard. Christ was perfectly human, not in spite of his being, but precisely because he was divine.

But it is not so much on this side that the difficulty lies as in the uniqueness of the manifestation, the new departure, the intervention, it seems, of the non-phenomenal into the phenomenal world. It is in this sense that Christology has become the problem of the Church of to-day, as, viewed from other standpoints, it was of the Church from the fourth to the sixth century. In our efforts to deal with it we shall do well to learn from the experience—may we not say the failures?—of the past. We shall not, if we are wise, import into this mysterious subject-matter the terminology of dead

philosophies; this would be to darken counsel and to explain the obscure by the more obscure. We shall be sparing in our use of the language even of living science, employing it, if at all, by way of illustration rather than of precise statement or definition, remembering that systems of thought are short-lived—'the feet of them that buried thy husband are at the door, and they shall carry thee out.' A wise and good man has written:

'It seems to be an opinion which is gaining ground among thoughtful and religious men that in theology the less we define the better. Definite statements respecting the relation of Christ either to God or man are only figures of speech; they do not really pierce the clouds which "round our little life." When we multiply words we do not multiply ideas; we are still within the circle of our own minds. No greater calamity has ever befallen the Christian Church than the determination of some uncertain things which are beyond the sphere of human knowledge.'*

Bearing this in mind, our attitude with regard to many of the questions that may be put to us will be, in the strict sense of the word, agnostic. We shall teach our tongue to say, I do not know. We shall not profess to answer enigmas. Before attempting to reply to a question, we shall make sure that both we and the enquirers know what the question means. Tried by this test, many of the controversies that have distracted the Church and divided Christians into contending factions are seen to be meaningless; they dealt with names, not things. And if, even so, we have not succeeded in getting rid of that element of the marvellous which presents so insuperable a difficulty to men of exact thought, jealous of that intellectual veracity which is, in the last resort, inseparable from moral, we shall not regard as opponents those whose attitude towards it differs from our own. The adjustment of such difficulties may be left to time and to the increasing sense of the vastness of the universe. Marvel is not miracle. The scholastic definition of the latter is incapable of verification. Whether or no a particular effect exceeds the sum of the forces of nature can be decided only by an observer who knows those forces exhaustively and can describe their content as a whole.

* 'Jowett *'The Epistles of St Paul to the Thessalonians,'* etc., ii, 367, 368.

Neither the philosopher nor the man of science pretends to such knowledge. They are less and less ready to reject the marvellous as such, in proportion as they are less and less disposed to class it in a category apart. The distinction between natural and supernatural is relative. With the growth of the content of experience and the sense of the surprises which it offers and has yet to offer us, the recognition of its unity grows. Here, it is safe to say, are the outlines of the future synthesis; for the detail, the evidence, the formula, we must wait.

Here, as in other departments of knowledge, the theory of evolution is at once the suggestion and the explanation of the facts. The order which the mind reads into these is not its own creation; we discern it because it is there to be discerned. And knowledge, in the proper sense of the word, begins with its discernment; perceptions without form have neither significance nor sense. Like the separate pieces of a puzzle, they lie side by side disconnected; it is not till the key is in our hands that they are correlated, take meaning, and fall into place in the scheme of the whole. How hopeless a confusion is presented by the facts of Scripture and Church history taken in isolation! how inconsequent, how contradictory they appear! The clue once found, order replaces disorder; they fall into line. The letters form words, the words sentences; the sentences show the sustained reason that guides the movement of the entire process. The theory that regards the personal teaching of Christ as rudimentary, and sees its significance only in that which it became, must be rejected. Galilee, not Jerusalem or Antioch, is the Christian's fatherland; the age of Christ, his golden age. But Christianity was for all the world and for all time. The baptismal stream from which humanity was to rise a new creature was not fed by Jordan only, its waters were to be augmented by those of the Orontes and the Tiber, the Elbe and the Rhone.

The question of origin, so fiercely discussed by theologians, is in truth the least decisive of questions; the point is not what a formula, a function, an institution was, but what it has become. This, not the other, fixes at once its worth and its character. An ingenious argument is advanced by Prof. Pfeleiderer for the Gentile origin of the Christology of St Paul, of the development of the

Sacraments in the Churches of which he was the founder, and of the form taken by the belief in the resurrection of Christ.* Such arguments are necessarily conjectural. We can say with greater probability what did not than what did take place in the embryonic stage of Christianity. The evidence is circumstantial, and may be construed in more than one way. Of the first eighteen years after the day of Pentecost hardly any record is preserved; it seems as if we had reached the second stage in the history of the Apostolic Church without any knowledge of the first. Of this second period even—the ministry of St Paul—how fragmentary, how ambiguous are the accounts! The secret of Paulinism perished with its founder. Between Christ and Christianity a gulf is fixed. Much must have, almost anything may have, taken place in this obscure but momentous period. It would be rash to say more of Prof. Pfleiderer's hypothesis than that it is possible. But there is nothing in it that need perplex or alarm us. It is the eternal, not the past, that is the object of faith.

‘Was sich nie und nirgends hat begeben,
Das allein veraltet nie.’

If the ideas conveyed under these forms are valid and vital, the forms, as such, need not detain us. They are of secondary importance; those who framed them took them, we may believe, where they lay to hand. St Paul was as free to borrow from non-Jewish as were the older apostles to borrow from Jewish sources. Gentile and Jewish converts retained, in all probability, not a few of their accustomed usages and forms of thought, but with a difference; they were in each case purified and vitalised, all things were become new. ‘Let all things be done unto edifying,’ and, ‘Where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.’ These were the principles which guided the development. It was not till a later age that we find the vehicle stereotyped, the perishing form identified with the imperishable truth.

In his summary (iii, 232) of the content of the Christian religion, Prof. Pfleiderer represents the Gospel as taking over into itself whatever truth was contained in the religion and philosophical systems of the world in which

* Vol. I, 160-162; iii, 221-231.

it found itself—in the mystery-cults, in Judaism, in Greek speculation, in the theosophies of the East. 'Thus did Christianity become the religion of the religions; thus did it overcome the old world and bring in the new'; the inference being that its assimilative power is not exhausted, that it may deal as sovereignly and as discriminatingly with modern as it dealt with ancient thought. It is easy, by opposing to so idealised a picture as this certain obvious facts, to make the former appear fanciful and unreal. Consult the large map and the suggested inference breaks down. The actual falls short of the ideal; and, if we select our instances, we can contrast a Hypatia with a Cyril, a Julian with a Constantine, and build a general view of history on the contrast. We have to look, however, not at individuals, but at a larger field—the movement of humanity, the ideas by which it was directed, and the course which it took. Thus viewed, history justifies itself. This principle holds good not only of the conflict between Christianity and Paganism, but, unless we misread the evidence, of the internal controversies which disturbed the peace and threatened the existence of the early Church. Had Gnosticism, the 'acute hellenising' of Christianity, got its way unchecked, Church and creed bade fair to evaporate. The allegorising stage is common to mythologies in their decadence. When it has set in, there is but a step between them and death. Philo and Plotinus were reproduced in Valentinus and Basilides. It was because Christianity was not a mere mythology that it stood out against their nebulous abstractions. It pointed, indeed, to the eternal—this was, and is, the object of faith—but it held also to the manifestation in time, without which it escapes us, to the concrete embodiment of the idea. From the Alexandrian school all—and it was much—that was worth retaining in Gnosticism passed into Christian theology; which, while resisting an acute, assimilated and was modified by a gradual hellenising. The Gnostics, it has been said, were the first theologians. Clement and Origen show how deeply their influence made itself felt.

The Christological controversies, from the Arian onwards, leave an impression of barrenness. Theology was identified with revelation, a creed with faith. Civilisation

and religion suffered. The key to orthodox speculation was its insistence on two apparently contradictory propositions; the key to heretical, its efforts to reconcile them in an ingeniously conceived middle term. It is easier in each case to regret the dispute and its attendant evils than the failure of the attempt at mediation. Toleration, it must be remembered, was unknown; the Arian persecuted the Catholic as fiercely as the Catholic the Arian. And there was no one of these attempts whose success, with the consequent crushing out of the rival theology, would not have imperilled what, after all, is the essence of Christianity—the bridging of the gulf between God and man. For the mind of the time—and it is this, not that of a later day, that has to be considered—the doctrine of Arius, of Nestorius, of Eutyches, and the rest, meant in the last resort either the *φίλος ἄνθρωπος*, a Christ who was a 'mere' man, or a God non-incarnate and remote from humanity. Thus the bridge was broken; the chasm yawned unspanned between us and the divine. A price, it is true, had to be paid for its spanning. The importance attached to 'doubtful disputations,' the sacrifice of spirit to letter, the loss of the universal priesthood of believers consequent on the development of a sacerdotal caste culminating in the Papacy—these were evils. The New Testament contains no trace of them, and they are as foreign to its spirit as to its text. They stood to Christ as the Levitical Law stands to prophetism; the deterioration is too palpable to be explained away. Yet, given the circumstances, we can see the justification of some such elements as those of which they were an exaggeration—formula, law, organisation, and the like. The false step was not taken till these things were made ends in themselves, and the fiction of apostolicity was devised to cover their historical origin in the necessities of time and place. This was the *πρώτον ψεύδος* on which the fabric of later Catholicism was to be built.

Yet there is a soul of goodness in things evil. 'It is the attempt to preserve or revive erroneous opinions in the present age, not their existence in former ages, that is to be reprobated.*' There is a contingent element

* Jowett, 'Epistles of St Paul,' ii, 342.

in morality; to overlook this is to misread history and to misconstrue life. The hierarchy, unevangelical as it was in conception and fact, was a protection to the Church against exterior attack and interior dissolution; but for the enforced celibacy of the clergy, their benefices would have become hereditary fiefs. The breakdown of the conciliar system which the Councils of Basel and Constance attempted to establish was due to men's natural and proper sense that one theocrat was less intolerable than many. Monasticism met a want which will always be felt by certain temperaments; the confessional was a check upon ill-doing; it broke down the interior solitude which drives so many to despair, and gave sensible assurance of the pardon of sin. To say that these wants may be met in less ambiguous ways is true, but irrelevant. The point is, could they have been, and were they, so met at the period in question? The evidence is all in the other direction. Even in our own time the comparative absence of an alternative remedy is the strength of Catholicism, which thrives less on its own merits than on the defects of rival Churches. It professes at least to meet men's needs and to cure their ailments. Protestantism is apt to ignore both, presupposing a non-existent sanity. 'They that are whole have no need of a physician.' Hence an apparent aridity which chills and repels.

There can be no greater historical fallacy than the identification of pre-Reformation Catholicism with the highly developed Romanism of our own time. It is a fallacy convenient to controversialists, Catholic and Protestant; the former find in it an argument for the continuity of Roman doctrine and usage, the latter a weapon against certain tendencies which are found, not in historical Christianity only, but in human nature, and which they are apt to denounce indiscriminately and without knowledge. The vital difference is that, while the Catholicism of to-day is a Church among Churches, pre-Reformation Catholicism, for the West at least—and this is all that for our present purpose concerns us—was *the* Church. Nor is this distinction external only; it connotes differences of content, character, and outlook no less essential than itself. The medieval synthesis, though dominant, was not universal; nor, though decadent, was it beyond hope of recovery. The Renaissance culture

entered into competition with it on its own ground; nor was it at first inconceivable that a harmony should be brought about between the two.

The Reformation teaching itself was no novelty; it was a combination of elements which already existed in the older system; it was the perspective, not the content, that was new. Nor was the transition from the one to the other system necessarily or invariably violent. The turmoil of revolution is felt at the centre rather than over the whole extent of the surface affected by the movement; it is probable that in many quiet German homes and villages the change passed all but unperceived. The positive reforms which took place were generally desired by good men; and the features of the old order which dropped out were not those which bore most intimately on the religious life; the same hymns were sung, the same Gospel was preached, the same bread broken, in many cases the accustomed ritual was in substance retained.* That such a transition would now be impossible indicates the change that has passed over the two communions; much that was then in solution has become stereotyped on each side. It was not the intention of the Reformers to separate from the Church; it was not the intention of the Church to lose half Europe. The schism was due to political rather than to religious causes. The Papacy, from the first rather a political than a religious institution, had become inextricably entangled in politics; concerned for its interests as an Italian principality and dependent on its allies, it moved at their instigation. Philip II was its Mephistopheles. Spain, decadent, barbaric, impracticable, cast the evil eye on Rome.

With fateful wings destiny lurked unseen below the horizon. Had the popes foreseen the result, they might—who knows?—have acted differently; but they did not and could not foresee it. Schisms, heresies even, there had been, but they had been temporary; a permanently divided Christendom was inconceivable to the mind of the time. The theological differences were not irreconcilable. It is easy to picture Melancthon and Erasmus in one communion; yet the one was the friend and

* Cf. Lindsay's 'History of the Reformation,' i, 121, 139, 375.

colleague of Luther, the other a possible cardinal under more than one pope. Till the Council of Trent, the doctrines of grace and justification were patient of an evangelical interpretation, and were in fact evangelically interpreted by men like Sadolet and Juan Valdes. Implicit as it was in the received teaching, the dogmatic development of Vaticanism was reserved for a later day. Sir Thomas More, for the greater part of his life, held that the Papacy was of human institution. Gardiner was a non-papal Catholic; Bonner, after his sort, assailed Clement VII with insult and abuse. The separation was brought about, not so much by the opposition between the two theological tendencies as such—this might have been overcome—as by the antagonism between the progressive and the reactionary elements in religion, and the refusal of Rome, on political grounds, to tolerate the former. Let the responsibility for the schism rest on its authors, not its victims. The Reformers did not desert, they were driven out of the Church.

‘Events momentous spring from causes least.’

Could men foresee the results of their action, would action be possible? Would not the sense of responsibility crush, silence, and enervate? It might well be so. But we are the agents of a wisdom and a power not our own.

‘We have not set ourselves freely to this collective task or chosen our places. We are pushed on, organised, and directed by the universal forces that govern the progress of humanity, by the ideals that are struggling to realise themselves in a not very distant future. Our interpretation of those obscure forces and ideals is sure to be faulty to some degree. Hardly any such moment in history—not the Protestant reform, nor the Jesuit reform, nor the Franciscan reform, nor even the Christian reform—has followed the lines foreseen and desired by its first adherents. Such men have been always the half-blinded instruments of a Power with far wider plans than theirs. Their partial bondage to an impossible Past has been the very condition of their serviceableness as mediating channels by which the values of the Past are transmitted to a Future which to them would have seemed as impossible, and altogether undesirable.’ (Tyrrell, ‘Mediaevalism,’ p. 160.)

As diplomacy, nothing could be abler than the manner in which the popes dealt with their opponents, the

princes, the non-Italian bishops, the friends of reform; promising all and conceding nothing, temporising, dividing, sowing discord, as occasion served. At the opening of the Council of Trent the great weight of Catholic opinion was in favour of the main demands of the Reformers: communion in both kinds, the open Bible, the vernacular service, the marriage of the clergy. At its close, the expectation of, and it might almost be said the demand for, these reforms had disappeared; the Church had fastened upon herself a bondage which till then, if not unknown, had been partial and intermittent. The vision of Gregory VII and Innocent III was realised; Rome was the Church, and the Church Rome. But at what a cost! The dream was shattered in its realisation. These great men aimed at no divided dominion. Ambitious they were, but their very ambition would have led them to reject a victory gained by the sacrifice of all that made victory significant or desirable. Not theirs to reign in a sectional Church or over a fragment of the world. Their successors judged differently; and it was a choice from which there was no going back. 'Ecce, convertimur ad Gentes!' The evolution process pursued its way; nothing could arrest or deflect it. But 'the other disciple outran Peter'; the Churches and the civilisation of the Reformation took over the birthright which Catholicism definitely and once for all declined. Since then the jetsam of the tide, Rome, has remained unmoved by the movement of humanity; the stream of life has flowed in other channels and to other seas. Her development—for she has developed—has been logical, not vital; an inferring of proposition from proposition, not the growth that comes of and betokens life. And because, frame it as carefully as we will, no formula more than approximates to the actual, and because the formulas of Catholicism in particular were framed at a period when men's notions of fact, of evidence, and of history were rudimentary, logical consistency has been purchased at the price of an ever wider departure from truth; while, for a Church, truth is the essential attribute, the foundation without which no structure, venerable and majestic as it may appear, can stand.

It is the fashion to disparage the Reformation; and this disparagement is perhaps the result, not only of the

attacks of its enemies, but of the indiscretions of its friends. The Reformation was no new departure; no new departure in religion is possible or conceivable; it had its roots in the past and was conditioned by its antecedents, by the immediate as well as the remote past. Nor was it a rediscovery of a lost gospel. The Gospel was in the Church, and had been the life of generations of Christians through the darkest days. As an intellectual movement it was neither complete nor consistent. Statesmen, indifferent to religious considerations as such, saw in it a menace to public order; it is said, perhaps not without foundation, that its immediate results were not favourable to morality, that piety suffered and good works declined. The large map is the answer. No great movement of mankind has been brought about without an admixture of evil; the fetters of custom are not broken without convulsion; good men are not all or always of one mind. How many virtues tend to support the established order! There is a sanctity which is seldom found on the side of change.

The Reformers were not saints, least of all after this pattern. We must compare them, not with the machine-made standard of the Jesuit novice, an Aloysius, a Stanislas, or a Berchmans, but with men of their own type and calling, with their opponents, Eck, Aleander, Cajetan; with the leaders of the Catholic reaction; or, to go farther back, with the great men by whom the world was conquered for Christianity. They need not fear the comparison. There are other virtues than those of the cloister; it takes all sorts to make a world. To say that their work was not final is to say that it was, as all human things are, relative. It represented an average, not an advanced, opinion; a left centre, not an extreme left. It was well that it was so. Hubmaier and Franck were intellectually, perhaps even spiritually, in advance of Luther. For this very reason they were not, and could not be, founders. Their influence was of another order; their harvest ripened when they, the sowers, were gone. But, with all its limitations, the Reformation was the mightiest uprising of the human spirit against wrong and falsehood which the world had yet seen. An intellectual advance, yes—for in the last resort the intellectual and the moral are one—but moral rather than intellectual,

an emancipation of conscience more than of mind. It proceeded on concrete rather than abstract lines; its history suggests 1688 not 1789. The Reformers were not great thinkers or professed theologians. Luther distrusted speculation; Zwingli was a man of action; Calvin's 'Institutio' was medieval in temper and method.

The movement represented primarily neither the learning of the scholar nor the insight of the mystic, but the revolt of the plain Christian against a burden which had become intolerable, and which the Church refused to remove or even relieve. The tyranny of the court of Rome; the exactions of the clergy; the crushing of the Gospel under a mountainous load of dogma, legend, and observance; the false conscience induced by such fictitious obligations as celibacy, vows, asceticism, etc., by which religion had been degraded into a corrupt and burdensome convention—men must be freed from these things. This was the message of Luther's three great 'Reformations-schriften' of 1520; this was his ultimatum to the Emperor and the princes at Worms. But there was no thought of breaking the unity of Christendom. The Confession of Augsburg followed the lines of ecclesiastical tradition; its compilers 'claimed to belong to the ancient and visible Catholic Church.' Had they been met in the spirit by which they were animated, peace might have been restored. The world would have been the richer for its restoration. The old was good, though the new was inevitable; it was not impossible to reconcile the two. But it was not to be. The central See, originally the guardian and guarantee of unity, had become the source of division; the seamless robe was rent by the ingrained lust of domination and by the political exigencies of Rome.

'Is it not the Popes who, with the sword of theological omniscience in one hand and that of juridical omnipotence in the other, have hacked the whole body of Christendom to pieces; have split the East from the West, the Teutonic from the Latin races, the whole Church from the living world? And all this under the pretext of securing a sterilising, insignificant, external uniformity—spiritually worthless and even disastrous; a uniformity that sucks the life out of the whole body of the Church for the benefit of the head, that substitutes the judgment, will, and action of a single individual for that of the *orbis terrarum*. (Tyrrell, 'Mediævalism,' p. 76.)

The Reformation, as has been said, was not final. To imagine that it was, or could have been so, is to mistake the nature of life and thought. These processes are essentially movement, becoming. Could we conceive them arrested, history would be at an end; it would be the descent of a glacial epoch, the kindly soil frozen and ice-bound, the streams checked in their flow. To the reproach, 'You change, therefore you are in error,' we answer, 'You do not change, therefore you are dead.' To apply the static conception of Christianity to the Reformed Church in general, or to any particular section of it, is to court disaster. This conception was framed by Catholic theologians with a view to the exigencies of their own apologetic; if there be such a Church as it posits, theocratic, infallible, unchanging, that Church is Rome. Nor is it Rome only, but Rome at its most Roman; the Rome of the *Unam Sanctam* and of the Vatican Council, of the Syllabus of 1864 and of that of 1907, of the Encyclical *Pascendi* and of Pius X. Elsewhere the misfit is palpable. If Rome is true, Protestantism, modelled on the Roman type, is an imitation; if false, it is an imitation of an imitation, and doubly untrue. As a fact, the conception is at once baseless and unthinkable. The Christian fatherhood is wider than any sect, however imposing its scale. The letter, write it as large as we will, killeth; it is the spirit that gives life. History is the record of its manifestation; of the gradual penetration of the formless by form, of matter by spirit, of lower by higher life. It shows this form, spirit, life—call it as we will—realising itself more and more fully, rising into more explicit consciousness, passing over into its other and so transforming it into itself. And there can be neither break nor stay till this transformation is accomplished, till, in the words of the apostle, 'God be all in all.'

The Reformers busied themselves with concrete issues; they did the work that lay before them without looking far beyond. But the abstract of to-day is the concrete of to-morrow; questions forced themselves on their followers which they had neither dealt with nor foreseen. The genius of Luther was essentially, it might almost be said exclusively, religious. In religion he spoke from experience; hence his power. Here he was as an Augustine or a Paul.

Elsewhere he was himself, a German peasant, vigorous, shrewd, conservative, with little sympathy with or insight into the needs of the new age which he had done so much to call into being. If the heart was right the rest would follow. Had not Christ disclaimed temporal authority? It was for princes, not for private citizens, to bear rule in the State. Partly a reaction against papal and clerical encroachments, partly a defence against the reproach of promoting disorder, this subservience to rulers was one of the greatest blots upon Lutheranism. We in this country have special reason to regret it. Under the shape of passive obedience it passed into the Church of England and provoked Nonconformity; more than any other one cause it hindered the English Church from becoming coextensive with the English race. Again, in dealing with medieval tradition and usage, Protestantism went by rule of thumb rather than by scholarship, which was in its infancy, or by reasoning, of which it took little count. It cut off obvious excrescences and such features of the older system as had given occasion to superstition; but it took the current theology without question—the Trinitarian and Christological dogma, the theory of vicarious satisfaction, of the inerrancy and plenary inspiration of Scripture, and the like.

On neither side, the political or the theological, could the settlement be lasting. Society was outgrowing the existing order. In theological as in other sciences new knowledge was supplementing and correcting the old. Criticism, as yet a tendency rather than a fact, was preparing men's minds for the abandonment of the traditional standpoint; while in each case the inevitable transition was opposed by a combination of vested interests, material force, and fanaticism, genuine and assumed, which embittered feeling, delayed the natural course of events, and made the change when it came revolutionary. Instead of in the still small voice, the Lord was in the whirlwind; he spoke in thunder and in fire. So that man asked, 'Is this indeed his voice?' seeing the smoke and the bloodshed, hearing the noise of battle, the crash of altar and throne. The large map is the key to the position. It is difficult to discern the religious idea in the scoffing philosophy of the eighteenth century, in the anarchy and slaughter of the Terror, in the dry and

chilling rationalism of to-day. To do so we must look at these movements from more than one point of view, recognising the philanthropic passion of men like Voltaire, the humanitarian idea that underlay the Revolution, the love of truth and jealous fear of falsehood which find expression in secularism. Nor must we forget the colossal injustice and hypocrisy against which these things were a protest—the oppression of the old absolutisms and aristocracies, the corruption and worldliness of the Churches, the smooth and heartless convention that passes for and brings discredit on religious belief. Above all we must remember how the whole has worked out. Will any thoughtful man, comparing the England of to-day with that of the Regency, the France of the third Republic with that of Louis XV, the Italy of the house of Savoy with that of the Pope and the Bourbons, give the preference to the old order, or question that, morally as well as materially, the new is better?

Religion and the Church, we are told, have suffered. Do not let us be duped by words. The Spirit at work in the world and in humanity manifests itself not only in religion and in the Church, but on a wider field. Its action is universal; it meets us in history, in experience, in civilisation, and generally in man. Religion is a part of this manifestation, a part important and indispensable, but still a part only, and, as such, subordinate to the whole. The Church, the world—to how much misconception have these abstractions given occasion! What is the Church but mankind viewed from the religious standpoint? The world, but this same mankind taken in a wider sense and with a larger connotation—the '*quicquid agunt homines*' of the poet; human nature with its various and changing sides? To set up an opposition between the two is a sophism. The distinction is nominal; the thing denoted is one and the same in each case. The relation between the Church and the world, using the terms in the sense indicated, has varied. At times, as in the early Middle Ages, the former has been in advance of the latter; at times they have stood much on the same level. There have been periods when, as to-day, the Church lags behind, meeting the advance of the world with stubborn opposition and impotent rebuke. At such periods feeling runs high on both sides. The

Church sees in the world a godless Antichrist; the world sees in the Church an obstruction, a barrier standing in the way. Such was the estimate common during the onward movement of the eighteenth and the reaction of the nineteenth century. We can see the how and the why of this. The world was godless, the Church obstructive; yes. But to see no farther than this into either is not to see the wood for the trees. The dualism which opposed the one to the other is 'a compendium of many heresies. Any barrier that hinders their free interchange of benefits is impoverishing to both sides.'

It would be rash to count too much on the better understanding between these two aspects or departments of experience which seems to prevail in our own time. This understanding falls short of an alliance or even a reconciliation; it is an *entente* rather than an *entente cordiale*. It is the result of criticism, of the historical method, of the philosophy of relativity; and it is from this side that its development is to be expected; for these weapons are best handled by those trained in their use. The world understands the Church better than the Church the world. On each side the understanding is intellectual rather than moral; hence its failure to bring about more than a precarious *modus vivendi*. That the philosopher sees how religion came to be what it is does not enable him to recognise and appreciate the idea that underlies it. The churchman may be shrewd enough to reckon with, say, democracy, as a fact, while remaining profoundly hostile to its spirit. In this case he will probably attempt to capture it for party purposes, to direct its waters into a new course. Such efforts, which are predestined to failure, give an impression of disingenuousness; and their result is a natural distrust of the quarter from which they proceed. Hence an anti-dogmatism as dogmatic as the dogmatism against which it is directed; a sectarianism as narrow and unscrupulous as that which it is pledged to destroy. Yet the advance, not indeed of definite belief, but of religious temper, is unmistakable. The sense of the obligation of public service, of the duties of class to class, of the responsibility of society to its members in general and in particular, is increasing and likely to increase.

One of the greatest of German theologians, Richard

Rothe, looked forward to what he called the passing over (*Aufgehen*) of the Church into the world. By this he meant, not that the religious element in life should be merged in the secular—nothing was further from his mind—but that society should rise to a fuller sense of its origin, course, and destiny, and so occupy itself with that department of life of which the Church is too apt to claim a monopoly. It would seem as if his anticipation was in a fair way to be realised. We have come to believe that the conscience of the community as a whole is a safer guide than that of any section of the community; that the general is to be trusted before the clerical mind. Indifference to formula and neglect of observance are not on the decrease; hence a certain loss which, we believe, is temporary and will be balanced by gain in other directions, but the effect of which is, and cannot but be, felt. Scepticism claims, and, it is to be feared, will continue to claim, its victims, particularly in the Latin countries, where the Church, instead of representing, as among ourselves, the average religious attitude of the community, has fallen into the hands of an extreme faction bent at all costs on regaining its lost supremacy and on enforcing its impossible creed. Tragic, however, as is the situation for individuals, we need not, we may not despair. The large map, the law of progress, forbid it. The Church, the world, religion, have passed through greater extremities and come out stronger for the ordeal. Individuals, generations, suffer—such is the law of life—but they count for little in the history of humanity; there is 'a loftier range, a larger view.' If this be ours we may, as Dr Pfleiderer hopes,

'look forward confidently to the future, certain that in this twentieth century Christianity will make good progress towards the goal to which its whole history has been one long endeavour—the realisation of the God-Manhood, the penetration of the whole mind and life of mankind by the Divine Spirit of Freedom, Truth and Love' (ii, 270).

Art. 3.—EVOLUTIONARY ETHICS.

1. *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas.* By Edward Westermarck. Two vols. London: Macmillan, 1906, 1908.
2. *Morals in Evolution: a Study in Comparative Ethics.* By L. T. Hobhouse. Two vols. London: Chapman and Hall, 1906.
3. *The Theory of Good and Evil: a Treatise on Moral Philosophy.* By Hastings Rashdall. Two vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907.
4. *An Introduction to Social Psychology.* By William McDougall. London: Methuen, 1908.

PERHAPS the strongest testimony to the importance of Darwin's work is to be found not so much in the revolution which he produced in biology as in the influence of his ideas upon other departments of thought. This influence has been conspicuous in all the human sciences—in psychology, sociology, religion, and in every department of historical study. A key seems to have been given for understanding the sequence of events of whatever kind. Origin, change, progress, have their mysteries solved by the magic of evolution. Nor is this the limit of its achievement; almost every subject of thought is so steeped in the time-process that our whole mental attitude has suffered thereby a Darwinian change. Outside mathematics, hardly an important science has escaped the influence. In these last years even Logic has threatened to become 'genetic.' But perhaps, of all sciences, it is upon Ethics that the effect has been most profound, and most questionable. For Ethics stands between the historical and the non-historical sciences, and connects itself with both. On the one hand it is occupied with enquiries which are mental or social in their nature; it deals with human emotions, sentiments, and activities, and with the growth of the customs and institutions in which these have found embodiment. On the other hand it seeks the solution of problems into which time does not enter; it investigates the nature of goodness; and it attempts to determine the ideal by which the time-process itself is to be judged.

Darwin himself made a number of sagacious and

fruitful observations on the subject in the chapters dealing with morality which are contained in his 'Descent of Man.' But he did more than this. His work as a whole seems to call for a new attitude towards the root-problems of human life. They have to be thought out again in the light of a fresh conception. Darwin's ideas were seminal, and in their growth they threaten to overrun the whole field of knowledge. The change he introduced was Copernican in its importance; it involved a shifting of the centre for human thought. Copernicus deposed the earth from its eminence and set it in its place among the planets. Darwin deposed man and put him back into the sequence of nature. The claim has often been made, perhaps never more clearly than on the first page of 'Kosmos'—a German periodical which began to appear in 1877, and had for its object to promote the 'monistic view of the world upon the basis of the theory of evolution.' A later writer in the same journal (vol. xviii, p. 401) has remarked on the periods of time in which the doctrine of evolution has been advanced. 'The "that" was proclaimed by Wolff in 1759, and set forth on scientific grounds by Lamarck in 1809; in 1859 Darwin supplied the "how." After another period of fifty years it is appropriate to look once more at the ethical and philosophical aspects of the theory.

Recent ethical literature is a proof of the vitality of the new ideas. Even when the attitude is mainly critical—as in Dr Rashdall's vigorous pages—the attention given to evolutionary Ethics is a recognition of the importance of the doctrine. On the other hand the books by Prof. Westermarck, Prof. Hobhouse, and Mr McDougall are illustrations of the positive influence of evolution within the domain of morals, and they show the large amount of valuable work that has to be set down to its credit. The great work of Dr Westermarck is specially to be welcomed as a mine of well-arranged facts regarding the moral ideas of mankind at all stages of development. Mr Hobhouse's is on a different plan, but it ranks alongside of it in value. The two authors wrote at the same time and independently of one another; and their general agreement as to the facts of moral development is the best testimony to the thoroughness of their scientific method. If we compare these works with the writings

on the ethics of evolution which appeared about a generation ago, we cannot fail to notice their closer touch with reality and their tendency to keep within the range of facts instead of deserting history for speculation. Some difference also may be observed in their way of approaching the question. The freshness of the adventure has worn off; the sense of coming triumph is less evident; there is an absence of Spencerian confidence.

Spencer was indeed but slightly indebted to Darwin. He had arrived independently at a theory of evolution more comprehensive than Darwin's, but without that constant dependence upon the facts of nature which has made the latter's influence so permanent. The idea was his own, and he was somewhat tenacious of the rights of property. Its applications, too, were stretched much wider by him than by Darwin. The latter was always careful not to stray far from the facts of life with which it was his business to deal; with the deeper problems of philosophy he did not interfere. It was different with Spencer, who saw in evolution a universal solvent for all sorts of problems—cosmical, biological, mental, and social. Without Darwin it is allowable to conjecture that Spencer would have been regarded as an ingenious speculator, one of the great systematisers with whom philosophers have to reckon, but whose views do not require more than a passing glance from men of science. On the other hand, without 'our great philosopher,' as Darwin calls him, Darwinism might have had to wait longer before it came to be regarded as a theory of the universe and not merely as a theory of life; and the resultant conception might have been different. In particular, the constant stress which Darwin lays on the method of biological evolution, and the obvious reference to living processes which his method implies, might have made his followers refrain from the hasty identification of cosmical with biological evolution. Yet the problem of their relation is not merely legitimate but inevitable. Both theories deal with an order of events; in one the subject-matter is the history of organic life, in the other it is the whole cosmic process. The two processes need not be identified—indeed, must not be identified unless they have been shown to be the same. But, on the other hand, it is not by mere accident that 'evolution' is asserted of them both. To

understand their difference we must see how far the two laws of evolution agree.

Continuity is the mark of both. And this continuity has first of all a negative implication; it excludes the idea of miraculous intervention. Whether in the history of the heavens or in the life of organisms, the assertion of miracle is extra-scientific. If the assertion is made by a man of science, it can mean nothing more than that he has come upon something that he is unable to explain and that to him seems inexplicable. Yet, before the time of Darwin, the idea of the separate miraculous creation of each species does seem to have gained considerable currency among scientific men. Perhaps Darwin took the idea too seriously, though his conviction of its unscientific character nerved him in his life-long endeavour to find and establish the true explanation. It would seem as if men of science had resigned themselves to the idea that all explanation must be through mechanical causation, while it was hopeless by this means to explain specific differences. But the theory of fixed species did not necessarily involve the doctrine of separate creations. The view might be held, and has been held, that there are fixed types in nature, and that the striving of each living being is to realise its typical form or species. This view requires no series of special creations, but it does involve a conception of causal activity that lies outside the range of the mechanical philosophy which became dominant in the seventeenth century. The triumph of mechanism had thus something to do with the lapse into the doctrine of special creation, and thus indirectly with the more excellent way pointed out by Darwin. The view that there is a predetermined end in the evolutionary process—that the lines of development are in any way ideally marked out before the course of events reveals them—was no part of Darwin's thought. It is, indeed, rejected by implication in some of his statements; whether the facts of evolution exclude it, or not, is quite another question.

On its positive side the conception of continuity implies and is based upon the appeal to natural law; each step in the process of development has its cause within the process, and results from the stage immediately preceding it. There are therefore no absolutely

sudden transitions made, no absolutely new forces at work; even when the gradual modification escapes observation and a striking change ensues, continuity is not broken. This also characterises both the cosmic process and the life process as Darwin understood it. Continuity in this sense is the fundamental note of the theory of cosmic evolution—a theory first worked out by Kant in his early work, 'Universal Natural History and Theory of the Heavens,' published in 1755. Kant was as well equipped to deal with physical science as with philosophy. He has left it on record that the contemplation of the starry heavens and of the moral law produced in his mind a profound and equal emotion; and he strove to render intelligible the working of both. His 'Cosmology,' it is true, was unfortunate at its birth; owing to the publisher's bankruptcy it hardly got into circulation at all. But the author's subsequent fame drew attention to it; and he is now recognised as having anticipated Laplace by forty years. The same conception of continuity ruled the thinking of Leibnitz, both in mathematics and in philosophy; it led him also to question the view of the fixity of species, and to throw out the suggestion* that

'perhaps at some time or in some part of the universe the species of animals are or were or will be more subject to change than they are now and with us; and many animals, which have something in them of the cat, such as the lion, the tiger, and the lynx, might have been of the same race, and may now be, as it were, new subdivisions of the ancient species of cats.'

The suggestion is significant, though, at the time, facts were not forthcoming for its proof. And indeed Leibnitz's own conception of continuity was far too simple to cover these facts, had they been known to him; for he looked upon development as a process that takes place in each real being or monad by the operation of its own internal force only, without interference by anything else in the world.

This simplicity of operation is inconsistent both with the theory of cosmic evolution as worked out by Kant,

* 'Nouveaux Essais' (written in 1704), Bk III, c. vi, § 23.

and with the theory of biological evolution, especially in its Darwinian form. This, then, is another point of agreement between the two theories. Conflict or antagonism is of the essence of both processes. Kant's whole theory depends on the combined action of opposed forces—attraction and repulsion. Similarly, Darwin's view contains and is constituted by the two ideas of the struggle for life between organism and organism, and the selective influence of the environment. Kant's explanation of the cosmical system is throughout mechanical. He is confident 'that the physical part of universal science may hope in the future to reach the same perfection as that to which Newton has raised the mathematical half of it.' To biological development he refers only in a single remarkable passage:*

'It seems to me that we can here say with intelligent certainty and without audacity, "Give me matter, and I will construct a world out of it." . . . But can we boast of the same progress even regarding the lowest plant or an insect? Are we in a position to say, "Give me matter, and I will show you how a caterpillar can be produced"? Are we not arrested here at the first step, from ignorance of the real inner conditions of the object and the complication of the manifold constituents existing in it? It should not therefore cause astonishment if I presume to say that the formation of all the heavenly bodies, the cause of their movements, and, in short, the origin of the whole present constitution of the universe, will become intelligible before the production of a single herb or a caterpillar by mechanical causes will be distinctly and completely understood.'

In writing this passage Kant seems to have thought that a mechanical explanation of life would be reached in time. But, if so, he saw reason to change his mind. For, thirty-five years afterwards, in the 'Critique of Judgment,' he expressed the opinion that 'no human reason (indeed, no finite reason, similar to ours in quality, however superior in degree) can hope to understand the production even of a single blade of grass by merely mechanical causes.'† And the advance of physiological knowledge does not make the mechanical solution of the

* Kant's 'Werke,' ed. Hartenstein, i. 219, 220 (Dr Hastie's translation, p. 29).

† Kant's 'Werke,' v. 422.

problem more probable now than it was in his day or in Darwin's. In the concluding sentence of the 'Origin of Species' the author speaks of life 'having been originally breathed by the Creator into a few forms or into one.' Afterwards he expressed regret that he had 'truckled to public opinion, and used the Pentateuchal term of creation, by which I really meant "appeared" by some wholly unknown process.' If the origin of life could be shown to result merely from a more complex interaction of the same mechanical forces as those that have been found operative in the inorganic world, then, indeed, we should have good ground for the assumption that the forces which determine the subsequent development of life are also purely mechanical in nature. But, so long as mechanism is unable to account for the beginnings of life, it is an error in method to assume that by itself it can explain organic processes and the development of plants and animals.

Herein lies the difference between the method of cosmical and that of biological evolution. The struggle which the latter involves is no mere antagonism of mechanical forces. It is a result of the phenomena of growth and reproduction, and is due to the excess in number of the organisms thus produced over the means of subsistence. There is no characteristic corresponding to this in the whole inorganic realm; and without it Darwin's theory would have no meaning, for natural selection would have nothing to work upon.

In spite of the obvious differences between cosmical and biological evolution, there has been a constant tendency to identify them by assimilating the latter to the former. It is one way, and perhaps the easiest way, of looking at nature as a unity. In both departments the idea had at one time been prevalent that the course of nature was on occasion interfered with from without by an incalculable force. It was held that by this means the planets had been put in their places, given a spin, and then sent on their course, to be controlled thenceforth in a purely mechanical way by centrifugal and centripetal forces. In a somewhat similar way the physiological causes which lead to animal activity were held to be complicated and modified by an obscure vital force. The new science sought to show how the movements

of the heavenly bodies could be explained without interference by the finger of God, and how animal and human activity might be accounted for without reference to a soul. The majority of the leaders of the evolutionary movement tended to look upon mechanical causation as the sole principle of explanation. The phenomena of life itself were to be translated into physico-chemical terms; and, although difficulties were encountered there with which science, then as now, was unable to cope, it was hoped that time and the progress of knowledge would bring a favourable solution. No such revision of the doctrine of causation was thought of as that which is implied in the theories of the contemporary writers classed as neo-vitalists. And, most of all, the mechanical mode of explanation was favoured by the new and fruitful conception of Natural Selection. For natural selection operates upon an organism from outside; it is an external force, selecting certain organisms for death in a quasi-mechanical manner, and thus allowing freer scope to the rest without producing any direct effect upon their internal powers.

Thus it has happened that Darwinism—which at the outset was a biological theory concerning the mutability of species—has come to be regarded as part and parcel, not only of a monistic, but also of a mechanical theory of the universe. The Darwinian theory is looked upon as the chief buttress of the edifice of philosophical naturalism. Undoubtedly that is one way of interpreting it. It is also the way which seems to have had most attraction for the majority of those who have worked out its ethical applications.

To begin with, these ethical applications are not difficult to understand, although some hard questions are raised as soon as we begin to think them out with thoroughness. Natural selection may affect morality much in the same way as it affects physical characteristics. Just as a serviceable variation of physical structure is perpetuated through the advantage which it gives to its possessor in the struggle for life, so and in the same way such qualities as industry, temperance, courage, and wisdom are of use to the individual human being, and give him a superior chance to live and leave descendants who will inherit these qualities—so far as

they can be inherited. Other qualities, it is true—and the higher moral qualities among them—cannot be perpetuated in this way. Sympathy, kindness, mercy, gratitude, even justice, limit and control this war of all against all, in which natural selection decides the contest. These social virtues unfit man for this first form of competition, and, at the same time, they raise him above the conflict of individual with individual by making him a more useful member of the community of which he forms a part. In this way, however, they fit him for a more complex struggle. Moved by social and not merely by selfish impulses and ends, he contributes to the solidarity and efficiency of the social order to which he belongs. A community whose members are thus socially constituted will, other things being equal, maintain its existence and power in competition with other communities in whose members the social feelings are relatively weak. Communities of the latter kind will tend to disappear in the struggle that is constantly going on between different types of society. The qualities that are of advantage to social life will thus tend to persist; and this tendency will be due to natural selection.

These considerations sum up the most important contribution which the theory of evolution makes to ethics. It will be noticed that the question dealt with is the development of morality, not its origin. The origin of the moral consciousness was indeed a subject of speculation in the schools long before the time of Darwin; it is still a subject of speculation there; and it has not been unaffected by the idea of evolution. Spencer thought that, by appealing to the fact of inheritance and to the long stretch of time during which human nature has been evolving, the whole difficulty could be set at rest. He offered terms of compromise between the intuitional or nativist and the empirical schools. The moral consciousness, he contended, is innate in the individual, but it was acquired empirically by the race. Few men of science would speak so confidently at the present day. The doubt as to the inheritance of acquired characters has become for many of them a dogma; upon all others it acts as a sort of danger signal; the ground is treacherous, and they must walk warily. And, if we may not assume the inheritance of acquired qualities, the problem cannot

be solved so easily. If, as Spencer thinks, the moral consciousness was acquired by the race—that is, by individual men in the past—and by means of their experience, then it does not belong to the continuous factor in life. It cannot be passed on from parent to child; heredity has nothing to do with it; it must be acquired afresh by each individual, just as it was acquired by his earlier ancestor. Thus the theory in principle reverts to the earlier empirical view of Hartley or of Bain. On the other hand, if the moral consciousness is in any way capable of being inherited, then, in so far, it is not an empirical product, and must be due to some combination of the characters inherent in the primitive reproductive cells. Natural selection may have much to say as to the way in which just this combination has been preserved. But natural selection cannot act upon the combination until it has been produced by other means; and no explanation has yet been given of the first appearance of that combination of characters in the cell which manifests itself in the mind of man as a moral idea.

The history of this problem is an illustration of the disillusionment that often follows upon the first confident applications of a new idea. Great advances have been made in tracing the development of morality; but the question of origin has been left very much where it was before. Ideas of right and wrong have a history, and social customs have a history; and recent work has added greatly to our knowledge of that history. But we have not got behind it to the origin of custom itself or of morality itself. No tribe of men is known to us which does not possess customs regulative of the conduct of its members; nor have we any trustworthy knowledge of human beings so low in the scale as to have no ideas of right and wrong—of things that may be done and things that may not be done. It is true that some travellers and missionaries have spoken of certain savages as without a moral sense; and some anthropologists have accepted their reports as scientific evidence. But the evidence requires to be tested in the light of two considerations; and it can hardly stand the test. In the first place, the absence of terms for the conceptions of right and wrong, or for abstract moral qualities, does not prove that no distinction is made between what may and

what may not be done. In the second place, morality is not altogether absent because the moral code of early man is different from that of Christian civilisation. On this question, accordingly, we find that the researches both of Dr Westermarck and of Mr Hobhouse have led them to an opinion in conflict with that expressed at an earlier date by Lord Avebury. Go as far back in the history, and as low down in the civilisation of the race as we can, and we come upon no men who have not both customs and morality. In the primitive stage these two are not distinct; the moral ideas of early man are the subjective reflection of the customs of his tribe. What tradition sanctions, and what every one does, has its echo in his consciousness as the standard of right.

The real question at issue is not whether ethical ideas are or are not within the evolutionary process. It concerns the true nature of that process and the way in which it is to be interpreted. Is it a purely mechanical process, or does it involve factors of a different kind which may be called spiritual or ideal? The answer to this question would provide, not perhaps an evolutionary philosophy, but a philosophy of evolution. It has been already pointed out—it is indeed admitted on all hands—that the production of life by physical and chemical agencies is inexplicable, at least in the present state of knowledge. There is a similar obstacle to the transition from protoplasm to consciousness. Nor have these difficulties become less as knowledge of nature has increased. Biologists are no longer deluded by the Cartesian paradox that animals are machines, nor do they look for cases of abiogenesis in every puddle. Yet the most common scientific attitude towards evolution is to explain it in terms of mechanical causation, so far as that is possible, and for the rest to hope for a completion of the explanation in the future. So far as Darwin expressed himself on the question, this seems to have been his attitude. It was 'mere rubbish,' he wrote, thinking of the origin of life, 'at present.' Spencer saw and could acknowledge that the subjective or conscious aspect of reality was unique; and yet the purpose of his systematic philosophy was to give an account of all the phenomena of life, mind, and society in terms of matter and motion. And at the present day some distinguished biologists find in

the hypothesis of Mendel a means of expressing many of the facts of inheritance in a mechanical or quasi-mechanical manner.

At the back of these attempts at explanation, and giving support to them, there lies a postulate which Spencer has put into words: 'We must interpret the more developed by the less developed.' If this is to be our only standard and guide, the question is decided off-hand; and we must rule out all explanations in terms of life or mind unless we can discover them in the first movements of nebulae. Nay, Darwinism itself must be ruled out until the subjective impulses towards food and mates which it postulates can be reduced to terms of matter and motion. Even if this reduction were effected, it may be doubted whether it would constitute an interpretation of the fact that needs interpreting, any more than the perception of colour is interpreted by an account of the vibrations of the ether or a description of the neural disturbance caused by their impact on the organ of vision. To those lengths, however, the theory is seldom pressed. The mechanical interpretation of life remains, for the most part, in the background; and we are presented with a biological interpretation of morality and of society. The adequacy of this interpretation calls for remark.

We must remember that the problem concerns human conduct, not mere animal behaviour. After all, men do differ from the other animals, though the differences may have been exaggerated by the pride of the nobler species; and one of the points in which they differ is the prominence of the ideal factor in their mental life. On the whole, the animal consciousness is perceptive and impulsive; free ideas and general conceptions, if not entirely absent from it, play but a very small part. Animals see and feel and are moved to action; but they do not form an idea of the end, or plan their actions with a view to it. We cannot attribute to their own forethought either their individual character or the social groupings which they form. These have been produced unreflectingly under the guidance of impulse and instinct; and the forms which were most serviceable in the circumstances of each case have been preserved by natural selection. The same process may be traced in

the development of man and human society ; but, in this case, it does not cover all the facts. Man can and does foresee results, and choose one course rather than another for reasons that seem good to him. He is a creature of instinct, but not of instinct only. He is capable of forming purposes and of carrying them out ; and this purposive activity carries with it a certain limitation of the operation of natural selection. A man's purpose has always relation to his environment. He seeks to adapt himself to it by producing some change in it or in himself. A mistake on his part may result in suffering or in death, just in the same way as if he had been blindly following impulse ; and this is the mode in which natural selection produces its effects. But, if his calculations have been correct, natural selection, which works by cutting off the unfit, will not come into play at all. He has anticipated its results ; and its place has been taken by intelligent selection on the part of the subject.

Throughout the whole scale of life subjective selection of some kind takes place. At the lowest point it appears as a mere reaction of the organism to one kind of stimulus rather than another ; at the other end of the scale it is manifested in the forethought of the statesman. Between the two extremes there is a gradual differentiation in the character of the process. At first there is no choice of end or means ; and out of the confused results natural selection produces order by remorselessly cutting off those organisms which react in ways not adapted to the conditions of life. But, as life advances, organic reactions become better adapted to the environment ; the number of failures is reduced. Natural selection still cuts off the unfit ; but the tale of executions diminishes. One way in which this happens is by the perfecting of instinct ; by this means natural selection, like a wise ruler, drills its subjects into obedience, so that the last sanctions of the law are less often called for. The other line of development is that of intelligence. The adaptation due to instinct is unconscious ; it is an outcome of the past history of the race. But intelligent action involves an idea of the future, and works out a conscious purpose.

It is clear that man pursues ends in this latter way ; and, the higher his grade of civilisation, the more are his

instinctive and impulsive tendencies permeated or superseded by the working of selective intelligence. Through it he learns to understand the physical and other conditions of his environment; he equips himself accordingly, and in this way forestalls the action of natural selection. If we could imagine that, under an unexplained tendency to variation, men manifested all kinds of difference in the way of food, clothing, shelter, and the like, and persisted in their idiosyncrasies throughout the year, then some would be starved and others stifled, and only those who had somehow exhibited serviceable variations would survive. And this would illustrate the mode of operation of natural selection. But it would not be an illustration of what actually takes place. Men look before and after, and provide against the natural forces which they foresee. In so far as the foresight is true and the provision adequate, they have triumphed over external nature in the only way in which man can so triumph—by understanding and obeying its laws; they have selected themselves for survival.

A similar process takes place in the adaptation of the individual to social conditions. If no preparation were made for industrial life, and people were simply left to take their chance, the unfit would be cut off, and few perhaps would make a livelihood. Human arrangements might with advantage be further removed than they are from this method. But the time and thought devoted to education prove that some attempt is made to substitute a more rational plan. Men are trained, or train themselves, with a view to their career; and their efforts are sanctioned by social recognition. One man is preferred to another if he exhibits better adaptation to the social conditions in which his life is passed. The minor social groups into which the community is divided are affected by the same cause; their growth or decay depends, in part at least, on their social utility. But this is social selection, not natural selection. It acts upon a man from outside, much as natural selection does. But it is a conscious process, and it represents—more or less imperfectly perhaps—the organised intelligence of the community; and it operates in a direct and positive manner, not merely by cutting off the unfit. Society bestows its favours on the temperate,

the resourceful, and the honest; they are given positions of trust and importance in order that society may be well served. The higher the type of social organisation, the more consistently and deliberately is this method followed, and the less is the course of events left to the operation of natural selection.

In yet another way social selection is broadly distinguished from natural. It looks to ends beyond the mere preservation of the individual and the race. It seeks adaptation to a wider environment than nature. It may aim at the promotion of the fine arts, or encourage the higher intellectual interests which in no way provide for material wants; it even actively opposes natural selection by protecting the weak against its ravages. If natural selection were a moral law, these things would be a sin. If it were the sole law of human development, they would be impossible. Yet they are obviously within the power, and may well be part of the duty, of social selection. And in this respect the latter agrees with the subjective selection of the individual, when it has become conscious and intelligent. Natural selection is a stern master, but it does not dominate the whole of life. Man must first come to terms with his physical environment before he can satisfy his higher interests; and it does not follow that these higher interests are of secondary importance because they are absent from human origins and significant of human aspirations.

That natural selection plays an important part in the development of moral ideas and moral customs is beyond doubt; but enough has been said to show that it is not the only force at work. Almost everywhere its operation is complicated and modified by that of subjective and of social selection; and its importance diminishes as civilisation advances. It is easy to attribute the gradual growth of morality to the effect of natural selection; it is only in rare cases, such as the intenser developments of sympathy, that we can say with confidence that natural selection is an impossible explanation. But the cases are equally rare—if they exist at all—in which social selection also has not been operative. It is through society that moral duties have been defined and enforced. The development of morality shows an unmistakable, though uneven, correspondence with the development of

society; and the effect of social action upon morality is always distinguished by some consciousness in initiative and some view of the end to be served. Natural selection has been one factor in moral development, almost omnipotent perhaps at the beginning, but gradually diminishing in power as intelligence increases.

Ethical ideas have a history; but they also have, or claim to have, validity. Their function in man's consciousness is to discriminate between good and evil, and to furnish an ideal for life. The validity which they claim may be expressed in different ways; and the best mode of expression is matter of controversy. But, if they represent no moral order, no moral law, no objective distinction between good and evil, then their claim to be the guides of conduct cannot be supported, and reflective men will be apt to cast them aside as worthless. This question of validity cannot be answered by historical arguments. Even if it be held that time enters into the problem—that one code of morals is valid for one stage in development, another for another—even then, for this relative degree of validity, more is needed than an historical demonstration. History shows the working of the moral ideas; it does not prove their authority or validity to any one who thinks fit to question it. Does the theory of evolution meet the point at all?

Undoubtedly it has been thought to do so. Evolution could not claim to be a philosophy if it did not. But the criticisms of many years have not been altogether without effect. The assertion that evolution can furnish an ethical standard has become less frequent and less emphatic, though prominent evolutionists have not been forward to imitate Huxley's relentless lucidity in proclaiming the failure of the doctrine. Thirty years ago Spencer was convinced that 'the establishment of rules of right conduct on a scientific basis is a pressing need.' He thought that his evolutionist philosophy could supply the need; and he issued his 'Data of Ethics,' out of due order, that he might make good the want by a 'code of natural ethics.' Other attempts have since been made in the same direction, though they have not all followed identical lines.

Sometimes utility has been appealed to as a support

of the new doctrine. Spencer himself adopted this attitude. He was startled when J. S. Mill referred to him as an opponent of the utilitarian doctrine; and indeed he never rejected it, he only held it to be an unfit guide for conduct. Happiness, he said, is 'the ultimately supreme end'; but it is so impossible to compare different kinds of pleasure, different people's pleasures, and different means for obtaining the largest amount of pleasure, that it is useless as a practical rule. The utilitarian standard has thus a position of *otium cum dignitate* in his ethics which is comparable with that of the Unknowable in his general system. His real ethical standard is found in the conditions of that 'highest life' to which (as he thinks) evolution points, and in which pleasure is to be at a maximum. Leslie Stephen also seems to have thought for a time that utility and evolution might combine against the common enemy. Darwin's principles were at first regarded by him as 'providing a new armoury wherewith to encounter certain plausible objections of the so-called intuitionists.' He soon found that he had laid hold of a double-edged weapon. But it was left to von Hartmann to expose, with relentless vision, if also with some degree of exaggeration, the opposition between eudæmonism and evolutionism. There is indeed little in common between the two principles; and their combination is the result of a historical accident. Utility, as the moralists conceived it, is a much wider conception than the serviceableness encouraged by natural selection; it regards pleasure as of equal value wherever found; everybody is to count for one and nobody for more than one. But evolution is no respecter of persons unless they conform to its conditions; and, in the struggle which it involves, it manifests a sublime indifference to the pains of those whom it marks for death. If we looked to it alone for an ethical standard, we should hardly stumble upon any form of pleasure theory. We should be much more likely to extract from it some such general conception as vitality, or health, or social equilibrium.

This is just what many evolutionist moralists have done. The conceptions are usually of somewhat vague import, and admit of many divergent applications when they come to be used in practice. But this is a criticism

of detail that cannot be entered upon here. The fundamental point is that all these methods assume that evolution is somehow good, for they hold that it supplies the standard for goodness. In one way or another they fall back upon the old view that man's duty is to follow nature. The conception of nature is widened; but, in other respects, the theories are on the same level, and they are open to the same objections. They are unable to distinguish good from evil, for evil also is 'natural,' and has been a factor in evolution. They fall into this difficulty because they both start from an initial confusion between 'is' and 'ought,' between reality and goodness.

In Spencer's case, indeed, it should hardly be called a confusion, but rather a postulate which he formulates; for he asserts quite definitely that 'evolution has been, and is still, working towards the highest life.' If this comfortable assumption could be justified, the problem would become easier. Spencer appeals for justification to 'the naturally-revealed end towards which the Power manifested throughout evolution works.' But the natural revelation to which he appeals shows only a growing adaptation to certain conditions of the environment; and it is vain to identify this with an ethical 'highest.' When this objection was driven home by Huxley in his famous Romanes lecture, Spencer was obliged to attend to it, and was driven to confess 'that the "fittest" throughout a wide range of cases—perhaps the widest range—are not the "best."' He pointed out that he had said so before; and in truth he had. Unfortunately he had also said the opposite at the critical point of his argument; and it was this unwarranted assumption that led to his belief in the coming of a perfect society in which man would be completely adapted to all his surroundings. Even Darwin was not altogether free from the same confusion of ideas. In the concluding chapter of the 'Origin of Species' we are encouraged to 'look with some confidence to a secure future of equally inappreciable length,' and are assured that, 'as natural selection works solely by and for the good of each being, all corporeal and mental endowments will tend to progress towards perfection.' But, by the time he wrote the 'Descent of Man,' he seems to have become alive to the hollowness of this complacent view;

and he refuses to allow natural selection to prescribe the measure of the moral virtues.

Indeed, it must have been by inadvertence only that Darwin spoke of natural selection, which proceeds by wholesale extermination, as working 'for the good of each being.' The error is avoided by Mr Galton when, as in his recent volume of 'Memories,' he says that natural selection 'achieves the good of the whole with scant regard to that of the individual.' But what ground is there for saying that it does achieve the good of the whole? Mr Galton himself throws doubt on the assumption when he goes on to advise men, with good reason on his side, 'to replace natural selection by other processes that are more merciful and not less effective.' The course of evolution by natural selection does indeed tend to bring about a certain correspondence between man and his physical and, to some extent, his social environment. It is within this correspondence, and subject to its conditions, that goodness has to be achieved. But to say that goodness simply consists in this correspondence is a purely gratuitous dogma that ignores all those higher functions which natural selection does not affect. Were the dogma applied to practice, it would lead, in Darwin's words, to 'deterioration in the noblest part of our nature.'

Clear thinkers are not wanting who admit the conclusion and relinquish the vain imagination that natural evolution tends of itself to the perfect state. The preachers of evolution have lost the prophetic afflatus. Dr Westermarck, for instance, does not share the apocalyptic vision of Herbert Spencer, who saw the holy city coming forth from the primeval fire-mist, and after much war of worlds and men, revealing itself to him as a New Jerusalem where pain and discord are unknown. As this vision has grown dim and disappeared from the evolutionist consciousness, the utterance has changed its tone to one of negation. Evolution has failed to supply a moral standard; and there can be no other way. 'The presumed objectivity of moral judgments' is, according to Dr Westermarck, 'a chimera'; and 'there can be no moral truth in the sense in which this term is generally understood.'

If we are restricted to the interpretation of the more developed by the less developed, and if the course of

evolution by natural selection furnishes the only means of explanation, then indeed it will be impossible to justify the claim of ethical ideas to objective validity. But, if objective morality must disappear on this account, we shall do well to look to the security of other positions on which science itself is built. Will intellectual ideas be able to retain their validity unsullied by any of the discredit that has fallen upon ethical ideas? If we bring mathematics, or logic, or the generalisations of biology itself to the same test, shall we be able to establish their objective truth? Or may we be forced to admit that their advanced theorems, and perhaps even their postulates, have only subjective validity, and are true or false according as the person who makes them has or has not a tendency to associate the predicate of the proposition with the subject?

Scientific argument should be no respecter of conclusions, except in so far as they follow from their premisses. There is no 'most-favoured-subject' clause in knowledge. All departments must be dealt with impartially. The position and validity of ethical ideas were determined by reference to natural selection; and the same standard should be used for estimating intellectual ideas. If everything is to be accounted for simply by its place in the evolutionary order, then reason also—the faculty by which all explanation is contrived and received—must submit to the same judgment. Its rise and function and value must be explained by this means. In accordance with the manner in which other facts of mind are traced, we must hold that intelligence or reason came gradually into being at the call of other phenomena which led up to it; and there must have been many tentative stages in the development before reason got anything like a firm place as a characteristic of some type of conscious life. We may suppose that the earth conceals at this moment the geological remains of many unsuccessful varieties—kinds of living beings which had struck out different sorts of ideas, and other ways of combining them, from those which have survived in the human race. Those other beings may have thought, for instance, that the part is equal to the whole, or that anything may be the cause of anything, or that two contradictory propositions may be both true; and they got swept into the world's rubbish

heap because the possession of these ideas hindered them in the struggle for food and mates.

This is the explanation of the intellectual notions which are familiar to us; for we are the descendants of the successful varieties who had the good fortune to strike out ideas which have proved serviceable to them and their children for many generations. Thus the account may serve, not only as a record of development, but also as giving a meaning to the validity claimed by our ideas. True ideas, it may be said, are those which have been proved useful in the process of man's adjustment to his environment; and false ideas are those which have been found hurtful. Thus far we can get a distinction between true and false out of the doctrine of natural selection. Certain ideas led to disaster and death; they were unsuccessful; they did not work; they may therefore be called false. Imaginary instances of such ideas have been given; but we must suppose that natural selection has exterminated the kinds of beings that entertained them. If any idea survive in a man's mind, it may seem to have a claim not to be regarded as false, seeing that its holder has survived the test of natural selection. Nevertheless we may perhaps still speak of it as false if it is found to work badly, that is, to lead to imperfect adaptation to environment; just as moral judgments will continue to be passed, although their objective validity be denied by anthropologists. On the same view, ideas may be called true if they are found to tend to the preservation of life or the attainment of objects of desire. If this is what truth means, then it can belong only to that range of experience within which one belief rather than another is favoured by the operation of natural selection.

But outside this range lie all the higher intellectual, as well as ethical and artistic, interests of man. The higher mathematics, modern astronomy, metaphysics, are only instances of intellectual achievements which must be altogether discarded on such a theory. We shall be able neither to accept their theorems as true nor to reject them as false. We must simply class them as a useless and puzzling by-product of the human consciousness. Nor can Darwinism itself escape the same fate. The elaboration of the theory of evolution—however brilliant the performance—has been in no way encouraged by the

operation of natural selection ; it has not passed the test ; and to talk of its truth is therefore out of the question. During the last fifty years the biologists have climbed to a great height on the tree of knowledge ; but, in making evolution into the sole principle of explanation, they are painfully and deliberately sawing off the branch on which they are themselves supported.

The contradiction in which this view ends suggests a reflection on the method of evolution. In the course of years the theory has been gradually extended from its primary reference. It began as an explanation of the modifications undergone by successive forms of life ; it became allied with the theories that concern the movements of inorganic matter, cosmical and atomic ; and it proved to admit of application to the phenomena of mind and society. Thus the whole realm of knowledge seemed subject to it. Little attention was paid to the different factors introduced as the theory was applied first to one department of knowledge and then to another. The biological method was held to be the universal type ; natural selection was even spoken of, on the one hand, as if it could have been operative in the evolution of the heavens ; and, on the other, as if it sufficed to explain the whole function and all the objects of human thought. Almost unconsciously also the question of origin led to the question of validity ; and it was assumed that the same solution held for both. This is one way of looking at the theory. It takes evolution as the ultimate principle of interpretation, and does not pause to enquire whether evolution itself may not need explaining. It may be called the mechanical interpretation, because there is usually present in the background the thesis that life must be capable of mechanical explanation ; and indeed this thesis is necessary to make the explanation complete. But, as it is allowed to be without proof, the view might be named, after its most obvious feature, the biological interpretation. By whatever name it is called, it has been shown to lead to a conclusion which renders its own claim invalid.

The difficulties of the mechanical interpretation become acute at certain points—at the beginnings of life, of sentience, and of self-consciousness. These difficulties have

been often urged. It is admitted that the gulf remains unbridged between the inorganic and the organic; and Dr A. R. Wallace, who shares with Darwin the distinction of having discovered the principle of natural selection, has maintained from the first that its operation cannot account for the moral, intellectual, and spiritual faculties of man. The suggestion that these faculties are a sort of by-product of other functions, which natural selection has preserved, leaves their development unexplained. And yet Dr Wallace seems to have experienced, at the hands of leading biologists, the same fate as that which, according to Hume, befell Bishop Berkeley: 'his arguments admit of no answer, and produce no conviction.' And the reason why they produce no conviction is that their truth has been taken to imply a succession of arbitrary breaches of continuity on the part of a force external to the universe.

But the unity of reality is not destroyed if it be found to be more than a mechanism. Whatever mode of explanation we adopt, it is clear that the history of the universe has been a process from nature to spirit. At the beginning only movements of masses and of molecules can be traced; in the end—at the highest stage we know—matter is the vehicle of morality and reason. The mechanical explanation of life has never been successful; but life is a unity which includes mechanical processes within it. The biological explanation of consciousness has never been successful; but the self-conscious being is a unity, and his morality, art, religion, and philosophy are not found severed from the mechanism and the vital processes of his body. These are incomplete aspects of the one being—the man. If the continuity of evolution is to be saved, it must be by an interpretation which does not ignore, but is not limited by, the mechanical and biological methods. The key to interpretation will be found, not in the factors which appear earliest, but in those which complete the process. We must interpret the less developed by the more developed; and, from this point of view, the process of evolution will be regarded as fundamentally teleological, and the explanation of its purpose will be sought in consciousness.

W. R. SORLEY.

Art. 4.—PRAGMATISM; THE EVOLUTION OF TRUTH.

1. *The Will to Believe, and other Essays in Popular Philosophy.* By William James. London: Longmans, 1897.
 2. *Pragmatism: a New Name for some Old Ways of Thinking.* By the same. London: Longmans, 1907.
 3. *Studies in Logical Theory.* By J. Dewey and others. Chicago: University Press, 1903.
 4. *Axioms as Postulates.* By F. C. S. Schiller. In 'Personal Idealism,' edited by Henry Sturt. London: Macmillan, 1902.
 5. *Humanism: Philosophical Essays.* By F. C. S. Schiller. London: Macmillan, 1903.
 6. *Studies in Humanism.* By the same. London: Macmillan, 1907.
 7. *Plato or Protagoras? being a Critical Examination of the Protagoras Speech in the 'Theatetus,' with some remarks upon Error.* By the same. Oxford: Blackwell; London: Simpkin, Marshall, 1908.
 8. *Distinction and the Criticism of Beliefs.* By Alfred Sidgwick. London: Longmans, 1892.
 9. *The Use of Words in Reasoning.* By the same. London: Black, 1901.
 10. *The Nature of Truth: an Essay.* By Harold H. Joachim. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906.
- And other works.

WITH the appearance of Prof. James' 'Pragmatism,' the interesting philosophical movement which, during the past ten years, has created an unparalleled disturbance in the circle of professional philosophers, may be said to make its first definite appeal to the cultivated public. It seems, therefore, not inappropriate to attempt, on the one hand, to give an estimate of its character and value, and, on the other, to set in a clear light the fundamental question which the controversy raises. For, as is usually the case among philosophers, the main point has been needlessly obscured by a multitude of side-issues; and the catchwords of the combatants are confusing rather than illuminating. For example, the formulas in common use to express the pragmatic method are by no means self-explanatory. To say that truth depends upon

consequences, that truth is practical, that all truths are useful, and that meaning depends on application and on purpose—all these statements seem paradoxical and are calculated to arrest attention, but hardly appear at first sight to concern the central problem of all thought. In point of fact, however, what they are really intended to raise is the whole problem of 'meaning.' What, that is, is the difference between a real and a sham assertion—between an assertion that conveys a meaning and one that does not? As Mr Alfred Sidgwick says ('Mind' (N.S.), 67, p. 368), 'The straightforward question is whether the pragmatist contention about the need of a meaning, and the nature of a meaning, is sound or not.'

When it is said that truth depends on application, what is meant is that a 'truth' which cannot be applied can have no meaning. When it is said that all truths are useful, what is meant is that to apply them is to use them; and that, consequently, whatever is possessed of meaning must be capable of use. When it is said that truth is practical, what is meant is that in the process of application the final term must always be application to some concrete situation; and hence any so-called theory that avowedly makes no conceivable difference in practice stands confessed as meaningless. To say that the truth of an assertion depends upon its consequences, is, again, only another way of saying that the penalty of claiming a one-sided independence of theory from practice is the impossibility of assigning any meaning to the so-called theory. Lastly, the contention that meaning depends on purpose sharply challenges the inveterate convention that logic, in its examination of thought, is bound to abstract from the personality of the thinker.

Hence the ironical humbleness of some defences of the pragmatic principle is somewhat deceptive. When Pragmatism professes to be merely a method of testing truths and disclaims the ambitions of a metaphysic, it is fully conscious that a method which works may be far more valuable than a metaphysic which is pursued as an intellectual game; and that a philosophy which has not yet made good its claim to a meaning can hardly make good its claim to absolute truth. Another very disconcerting feature of this line of criticism is the willingness of Pragmatism to be judged by its own standards. Prag-

matism tests the truth of assertions by the success of their applications; it will confess itself erroneous if any truth can be found to retain a meaning while evading this test. Contrast with this the rival doctrine which initially defines truth as coherence and finally discovers that this view of truth cannot itself be made coherent.

Before, however, we plunge into the whirlpool of philosophic controversy, the history of the subject brings up a point of nomenclature. Is 'Pragmatism' the best name for the new teaching, or will it sound more attractive if denominated 'Humanism'? It is easy to understand Dr Schiller's preference for the latter term.* 'Pragmatism' sounds technical and learned and needs much explanation; it is therefore unsuited for a philosophy which wishes to appeal to all men. As Dr Schiller formulates the distinction, Humanism is

'the philosophic attitude which, without wasting thought upon attempts to construct experience *a priori*, is content to take human experience as the clue to the world of human experience, content to take Man on his own merits, just as he is to start with, without insisting that he must first be disembowelled of his interests and have his individuality evaporated and translated into technical jargon, before he can be deemed deserving of scientific notice. To remember that Man is the measure of all things, i.e. of his whole experience-world, and that if our standard measure be proved false all our measurements are vitiated; to remember that Man is the maker of the sciences which subserve his human purposes; to remember that an ultimate philosophy which analyses us away is thereby merely exhibiting its failure to achieve its purpose—that, and more that might be stated to the same effect, is the real root of Humanism, whence all its auxiliary doctrines spring.' ('Humanism,' pp. xix, xx.)

Pragmatism may then be conceived as merely 'the

* In adapting the word 'Humanism' to the uses of philosophy, Dr Schiller has in reality merely regularised a usage which was already vaguely current in philosophical literature. The employment of the word for philosophical purposes has also since been sanctioned by an absolutist philosopher, Prof. J. S. Mackenzie, in his 'Lectures on Humanism.' But, as Dr Schiller has pointed out ('Mind' (N.S.), No. 64, p. 605), Prof. Mackenzie deprives the term of any definite meaning by blurring its antithesis to absolutism.

application of Humanism to the theory of knowledge' (ib. p. xxi); or, more precisely, as

'the thorough recognition that the purposive character of mental life generally must influence and pervade also our most remotely cognitive activities. In other words, it is a conscious application to the theory of life of the psychological facts of cognition as they appear to a teleological Voluntarism. In the light of such a teleological psychology the problems of logic and metaphysics must appear in a new light, and decisive weight must be given to the conceptions of Purpose and End. Or, again, it is a systematic protest against the practice of ignoring in our theories of Thought and Reality the purposiveness of all our actual thinking, and the relation of all our actual realities to the ends of our practical life. It is an assertion of the sway of human valuations over every region of our experience, and a denial that such valuation can validly be eliminated from the contemplation of any reality we know.' ('Humanism,' p. 8.)

'Humanism' is thus at once the more inclusive and the more expressive term of the two; and Dr Schiller makes the suggestion that the term 'Pragmatism' should be restricted to a purely epistemological significance. The point at which Pragmatism emerges into full-blown Humanism is still perhaps not quite fixed, but there is probably nothing to be gained by attempting to draw a hard line between the two. If we are to preserve the distinction, it could best be turned to account by saying that, though Pragmatism insists on the purposive character of all thought, it does not proceed to emphasise with Humanism the *personal* character of all actual concrete thinking. This classification has the advantage of enabling us to describe Prof. Henri Poincaré as a Pragmatist, though not a Humanist.*

Historically the term 'Pragmatism' was the first in the field. It was devised thirty years ago by Mr C. S. Peirce to designate certain views which he expounded in an article in the 'Popular Science Monthly' for January 1878. His object in this paper was to propose a test for distinguishing between verbal and vital disputes. Disputants were invited to consider what practical difference

* See his works 'La Science et l'Hypothèse' (Paris: Flammarion, 1902), and 'La Valeur de la Science' (ib. 1903).

would be made by the adoption of one ostensible answer rather than the other. Where no such difference was discernible, the so-called question was judged to be really meaningless; and, on the other hand, the nature of the difference, if any, was held to define the 'effective meaning' of the answer.

Twenty years later Prof. James, in his pamphlet 'Philosophical Conceptions and Practical Results,' called attention to this 'principle of Peirce,' and introduced the term 'Pragmatism' into philosophical literature. In this pamphlet we find the leading ideas of present-day Humanism. In particular, the conception of *meaning* as residing in the claim to practical efficacy seems almost of necessity to carry with it the conception of *truth* as consisting in the actual establishment of the claim.

Subsequently Prof. James thus described the career of the term he had introduced ('Pragmatism,' p. 47):

'By that date (1898) the times seemed ripe for its reception. The word "Pragmatism" spread, and at present it fairly spots the pages of the philosophical journals. On all hands we find the "pragmatic movement" spoken of, sometimes with respect, sometimes with contumely, seldom with clear understanding. It is evident that the term applies itself conveniently to a number of tendencies that hitherto have lacked a collective name, and that it has "come to stay."'

In the year previous to the appearance of the above-mentioned pamphlet, Prof. James had published a collection of essays under the title of 'The Will to Believe,' dedicated 'To my Old Friend, Charles Sanders Peirce.' That the general point of view which gives unity to this book is already typical of Humanism appears from the following striking passage:

'Were I obliged to give a short name to the attitude in question I should call it that of *radical empiricism*,* in spite of the fact that such brief nicknames are nowhere more misleading than in philosophy. I say "empiricism," because it is contented to regard its most assured conclusions concerning matters of fact as hypotheses liable to modification in the

* More recently, in his preface to 'Pragmatism,' Prof. James seems disposed to restrict the term 'radical empiricism' to his own humanistic metaphysic of pure experience.

course of future experience; and I say "radical," because it treats the doctrine of monism itself as an hypothesis, and, unlike so much of the half-way empiricism that is current under the name of positivism or agnosticism or scientific naturalism, it does not dogmatically affirm monism as something with which all experience has got to square' (p. vii).

'The Will to Believe' was, unfortunately, read with too little reference to the psychological groundwork prepared in Prof. James' great 'Principles of Psychology' (1890), and contained no appeal to any explicitly logical principle. Taken thus barely, it seemed to many to be intended for religious application only, and to set up a claim for licence to believe at will; it was therefore widely denounced as intellectually demoralising. But much unjust and irrelevant criticism would have been spared if the critics had paid more heed to Prof. James' warning that these essays

'should be taken as illustrations of the radically empiricist attitude rather than as argumentations for its validity. That admits meanwhile of being argued in as technical a shape as any one can desire, and possibly I may be spared to do later a share of that work' (pp. ix, x).

It is, no doubt, a matter for regret that, on its first appearance, the pragmatic principle should have been so closely linked with what is still its most contestable, though its most interesting, application. This application was indeed calculated to draw attention to the importance and scope of the method, but whether it would yield the desired confirmation of religious postulates remained, after all, a matter on which there might be two opinions. All that Prof. James had actually contended for was that certain risks had to be taken on faith by both parties; but it was tempting to treat this doctrine merely as intended to revive the apologetics of Pascal's wager, and to glorify Faith by the sacrifice of Reason. His essential purpose was, however, to challenge the very conception of 'pure Reason' which created the antithesis, and to mitigate their divergence by showing that Reason, no less than Faith, must be justified by works.

At worst this was a mistake in controversial tactics. But these brilliant essays were deficient also in a more vital point. The need for the verification of the hypo-

theses deemed worthy of trial was not adequately emphasised even though it was not wholly overlooked.

'Our great difference from the scholastic' (says Prof. James) 'lies in the way we face. The strength of his system lies in the principles, the origin, the *terminus a quo* of his thought; for us the strength is in the outcome, the upshot, the *terminus ad quem*. Not where it comes from but what it leads to is to decide. It matters not to an empiricist from what quarter an hypothesis may come to him; he may have acquired it by fair means or by foul; passion may have whispered or accident suggested it; but if the total drift of thinking continues to confirm it, that is what he means by its being true.*' ('The Will to Believe,' p. 17.)

But, on the whole, the author lays more stress on 'the right of the individual to indulge his personal faith at his personal risk' (ib. p. xi) than on the fact that the reality of the risk measures also the reality of the belief, or, in other words, that the extent to which the will to believe is truly 'live' (pp. 2-4) depends on the danger that future experience may fail to confirm it. For to accept a risk is to believe that the wisdom of our choice will be justified by the event. Where the future shall 'decide,' there, and there only, is our 'option' a real risk.

Truth, then, demands verification; and verification means successful emergence from the ordeal of experience. 'True ideas are those that we can assimilate, validate, corroborate and verify. False ideas are those that we can not' ('Pragmatism,' p. 201). The logical novelty this implies is that initial certainty may be dispensed with in our reasonings, if they subsequently receive the support of continuous verification. In fact, it follows that an assertion which no conceivable experience can confute can have no conceivable meaning. The older logicians searched in vain for absolutely certain premisses from which to deduce their conclusions. What was to them *de jure* the essential condition of truth was what *de facto* no human truth could ever attain.

But, as has been already suggested, it was the human significance of this conception of truth rather than its

* Cf. the last chapter ('Necessary Truths and the Effects of Experience') in Prof. James' 'Principles of Psychology,' on the back-door way of acquiring 'necessary' truths.

logical importance that Prof. James had sought in these essays to put forward. His method, however, cried out for this application to logical theory. Dr Schiller instantly grasped that its logical was at least equal to its human importance.* He was doubtless prompted by his logical interest and his appreciation of the views put forth, strictly in the interests of logic itself, by Mr Alfred Sidgwick.† His most striking achievement may thus be said to consist in having brought to a common focus Mr Sidgwick's criticism of the current logics and the ethico-psychological views of Prof. James. To call this brilliant synthesis Humanism seems singularly apt. For it is admittedly philosophy's task to unify. But unification, like charity, should surely begin at home, i.e. with man himself; and Humanism really restores to man that living unity of his experience which 'monistic' rationalism has destroyed by its exaltation and isolation of the theoretic faculty. On the other hand, the evident unfamiliarity of most idealists with Mr Sidgwick's subtle analysis of the logical distinction between 'real' and 'formal' largely accounts both for the tenacity with which they cling to a purely formal conception of the 'real,' and for their apparent inability to grasp that it is on a charge of formalism and inapplicability, rather than of mere falsity, that their theory is arraigned.

Now this is to say that the most salient feature of the humanist philosophy consists, not of a new answer to the ancient demand for a criterion of truth, but of a radical re-shaping of the problem. The humanist critic summons the absolutist, in the first instance, not to make good the truth of his assertions, but to vindicate a meaning for his position. The fundamental charge to be brought against all absolutist philosophies is quite startling in its simplicity. They are charged with a fundamental confusion of two senses of truth which it is vitally necessary to distinguish. The first sense is real, and distinguishes truth from error; the second sense is formal, and includes truth with error in the common claim to truth which all assertions make. This latter, as Dr Schiller says ('Studies in Humanism,' p. 145), 'being inherent in

* V. 'Axioms as Postulates,' in 'Personal Idealism.' Cf. especially p. 91 and footnote.

† Cf. e.g. 'Studies in Humanism,' pp. 8, 9, 149.

assertion as such,' is 'a formal and trivial thing . . . possessing little real interest for knowledge.' Hence this formal truth is incapable of satisfying a demand for real truth. And, as a bald fact of philosophic history, not one of the many rationalist philosophies has relevance to the theory of real truth at all. This is not the place to trace this singular miscarriage of philosophic effort in its historical details. The future historian of philosophy will find therein abundant occupation.

It will probably be granted by most philosophers that the question 'What is truth?' is of great importance and antiquity. Many also would agree that, as it is constantly raised, it presumably means something. It may further be suggested that what bestows meaning and importance on this question is the interest we have in discovering in what way truth is different from, and better than, error. For, in the first place, if truth and error are humanly indistinguishable, our inability to discern truth would be balanced by the impossibility of our ever being convicted of error; and yet, in real life, probably no human being is completely impervious to the 'lessons of experience.' In the second place, if one is not preferable to the other, it would make no difference which we got; and yet we not infrequently find a 'change of mind' expedient. If, however, it be granted that to discriminate truth from error is the problem, does it not inevitably follow that the theory of truth and that of error are one and the same? Is it not clear that a theory which fails to explain how mistakes are corrected has no claim to be regarded as a theory of correct belief? To enquire into the nature of either truth or error is hopeless unless we can hope also to explain the other; both raise the question of the nature of the distinction between them. Yet it is precisely this question as to the nature of the *distinction* between truth and error that rationalist philosophers, from Plato onwards, have either entirely neglected or egregiously failed to solve. Each in turn has been beguiled into taking truth in abstraction from error; and not one has realised that his failure to leave room for error, as something different from truth, destroys the meaning of his theory of truth.

In this connexion Mr Joachim's extremely able and

ingenuous essay on 'The Nature of Truth' is an invaluable document. It shows how these shortcomings are at last beginning to trouble the absolutist conscience, though hardly as yet with such conviction as to foreshadow a genuine change of heart. To appreciate Mr Joachim's difficulties it will be best to let him speak for himself. After giving a preliminary sketch of the theory he wishes to defend, and warning us that the 'systematic coherence,' which is the truth, 'must not be confused with the "consistency" of formal logic,' he continues:

'Truth, we said, was the systematic coherence which characterised a significant whole. And we proceeded to identify a significant whole with "an organised individual experience, self-fulfilling and self-fulfilled." Now there can be one *and only one* such experience: or *only one* significant whole, the significance of which is self-contained in the sense required. For it is *absolute* self-fulfilment, *absolutely* self-contained significance, that is postulated; and nothing short of *absolute* individuality—nothing short of *the* completely whole experience—can satisfy this postulate. And human knowledge—not merely *my* knowledge or *yours*, but the best and fullest knowledge in the world at any stage of its development—is clearly not a significant whole in this ideally complete sense. Hence the truth, which our sketch described, is—from the point of view of the human intelligence—an Ideal, and an Ideal which can never *as such*, or in its completeness, be actual as human experience.'* ('Nature of Truth,' pp. 78, 79.)

Moreover,

'in our view, it is the Ideal which is solid and substantial and fully actual. The finite experiences are rooted in the Ideal. They share its actuality, and draw from it whatever being and conceivability they possess'† (ib. p. 82).

In all this, Mr Joachim's treatment is highly typical of rationalism. So far is he from recognising the necessary coincidence of the problem of truth with that of error

* Italics as in the original.

† But contrast *op. cit.* pp. 21, 22, where it is said that 'this independent truth lives and moves and has its being in the judgments of finite minds. . . . It is universal and single and timeless. But it is a single content or significance, which manifests itself . . . as a system of knowledge which constitutes and is constituted by the intellectual individualities of many finite thinkers.'

in the only practical way, namely, by treating them as one from the outset, that two-thirds of his book are devoted to an attempt to define truth, not in opposition to, but in abstraction from, error. When, however, he does at last turn to this 'side of our subject which we have hitherto neglected,' it has immediately to be acknowledged that

'truth is everywhere confronted with falsehood, and error is the inseparable shadow of knowledge. The antagonism is vital to the nature of the conflicting contraries, and neither can be understood apart from the other' (ib. p. 122).

And yet he has already committed himself to a theory of truth, and has even discussed the perplexities of its 'degrees.' But, since in all this he had omitted explicitly to raise the question which he now admits alone goes to the heart of the subject, the final 'shipwreck' of his argument does not astonish us so much as it seems to have astonished him. What does astonish us is his failure to understand the real meaning of this nemesis of dogmatism. He has to admit that the 'coherence-notion' of truth which he advocated is constitutionally incapable of furnishing a solution to the problem of error.* And he had already admitted that without an understanding of error we cannot understand the distinctive nature of truth. But why does he not perceive that these two admissions together amount to an admission that the problem of truth, properly so-called, is for him insoluble? It is not, as he himself thinks, that 'the coherence-notion fails of complete success' (p. 178) in so far as it is itself incoherent, but rather that he has no solution of any sort to offer of the question which really interests us.

Mr Joachim's persuasion that his conclusion is not purely negative, and that the coherence-notion can in some mysterious way survive its 'shipwreck' on the rock of error, is all the more pathetic in view of his attitude towards the 'correspondence-notion' of truth, i.e. the theory that truth consists in the 'correspondence' of thought with a 'reality' 'independent' of it. He begins by adopting the coherence-notion chiefly on account of

* *Op. cit.* pp. 170, 171.

an alleged incoherence in the correspondence-notion.* The supposed contrast between the two is quite fictitious, by the way; but of this, more anon. He contends that his criticism of correspondence is confirmed 'by exhibiting the helplessness of such a theory in face of the problem of error' (p. 126). But, if inability to deal with error is a good reason for discarding a theory of truth in the one case, why not in the other? Why should what is accounted a death-blow to the correspondence theory be reckoned only as an 'imperfection' in the coherence theory—an imperfection which 'need not prevent its being *as true as a theory can be*, and more true (more near to complete coherence) than, e.g., theories of truth as correspondence or as a quality of independent entities'?† If such patent incoherence does not warrant the rejection of a theory, what degree of incoherence will? It seems as if Mr Joachim meant to argue, on the one hand, that, because his opponents try to be as coherent as they can, therefore the Ideal Truth must be complete coherence; and, on the other hand, that, because this ideal coherence is unrealisable, therefore absolutists, but no one else, are free to be as incoherent as they choose.

Even now, however, we have not yet fathomed the rationalist conception of truth in its full incoherence. Our attention has next to be diverted to the formal interpretation of the problem of truth. It is implied in the following:

'The tale of our disaster is not yet finished. For there remains a problem on which I have more than once touched, but which during this chapter [on "The Negative Element and Error"] has slipped into the background. Yet the difficulties which it presents to the coherence-notion are no less formidable than those we have just considered, and are of themselves sufficient to ensure our discomfiture. For truth, as it appears in human knowledge, is distributed over two opposed factors. Our knowledge is thought "about" an Other; and the opposition of the thought and its Other is apparently vital. Truth—i.e. such truth as we attain in judgement and inference—dwells neither in the thought nor

* Mr Joachim also criticises the theory of 'Truth as a quality of Independent Entities' (chap. II); but this theory is treated as relatively unimportant.

† *Op. cit.* p. 178. Italics as in original.

in the thought's Other, but in some sense in the union of the two. And the union, to which we give the name of "correspondence," demands the independence and opposition of the factors which it unites. Now we saw long ago that, if the coherence-notion is to approve itself, "a continuous passage must be shown from that conception of things, which renders the coherence-notion possible, to the dualistic conception which is involved in correspondence." Otherwise human knowledge remains, for all we can tell, unrelated to ideal experience' (pp. 171, 172).

What Mr Joachim calls 'the opposition of the thought and its Other' means that every assertion claims to be true of its object. But, since this feature is common to assertions which are really true and those which are really false, we are dealing with the purely formal view of truth. We learn further from this passage that the theory which calls itself monistic cannot in the end transcend the dualism of the correspondence-notion, though its ideal of truth demands such transcendence. We have here, therefore, a demand 'which both *must be* and *cannot be* completely satisfied' (p. 171). Mr Joachim's ideal is not only unrealisable in fact, it is also unrealisable in idea. The promise to relate the Ideal to human experience remains inevitably unfulfilled; and this failure deprives the Ideal of all meaning. Accordingly Mr Joachim has to capitulate to the correspondence-notion which he had before repudiated.

'Even if we succeeded in reducing the problem of the dualism involved in human knowledge to a form of the first problem [i.e. that of error], we should still be confronted by an unsolved difficulty. For we should be no nearer to an intelligible conception of this self-diremption of the ideal experience, and the continuous return from this "Otherness" which is to constitute its concrete unity. And since all human discursive knowledge remains thought "about" an Other, any and every theory of the nature of truth must itself be "about" truth as its Other; i.e. the coherence-notion of truth *on its own admission* can never rise above the level of knowledge which at the best attains to the "truth" of correspondence' (pp. 174, 175).

Clearly, then, the coherence-notion does not heal the 'separation of meaning from existence,' for which it censures the correspondence-notion. But Mr Joachim,

in common with other absolutists, seems to have forgotten a most important point. If the absolutist theory of truth is 'about' Truth as its 'Other,' this is all the more reason why it should have a meaning of its own. And the trouble is that in the end we are left without the vaguest idea as to what 'complete coherence,' in the absolutist sense, really means. We cannot tell what the coherence theory intends to deny, for we have seen that it cannot in the end afford to repudiate the correspondence-notion. We cannot guess what it intends to affirm, for from this repudiation it derived its positive content. We cannot even understand in what sense it intends to claim truth for itself, for, 'on its own admission,' the only kind of truth it ultimately claims is the kind whose claim it initially rejected. And, while the ideal of 'complete coherence' is in the end thus defecated to a vague aspiration after it knows not what, such 'coherence' as is actually attainable sinks to the level of 'mere formal consistency' (*op. cit.* p. 117). Being unable to rise above, it inevitably falls below, the level of the 'truth of correspondence.' We looked for a theory both coherent and true of the nature of truth; we do not even get a coherent view of the nature of coherence.

Coherence is, beyond doubt, a most excellent thing, and we can hardly have too much of it. Humanistically interpreted, it is indeed the prerequisite, though, in view of the coherence of error, it cannot be called the exclusive prerogative of truth. That is to say, the demand for coherence is in the last resort a demand that an assertion be coherent in itself, i.e. that it should possess an intelligible meaning before it is decided whether that meaning is true or false. In this sense, however, the need for coherence rests upon the distinction, not between the true and the false, but between the significant and the unmeaning. This sense of coherence must retain paramount importance so long as men are prone to make meaningless 'assertions,' and so long as our human inability to give intelligent assent to such 'assertions' persists.

But it would seem that in Absolute Truth the sort of coherence which rules out meaningless assertions is no longer required. Thanks to the confluence of meaning with existence, this need has ideally disappeared. Thus

the 'complete coherence' of absolutist parlance is *not* the perfection of coherence in its humanly significant sense. It is overtly, and even ostentatiously, declared to be something wholly different and vastly superior. But why it should nevertheless be called by the same name does not appear; and what it is in itself seems for ever hidden from human intelligence. Truth, says Mr Joachim, is one thing, and coherence in the ordinary sense is another. But truth, he avers, *is* coherence, in that peculiar sense in which coherence is truth. Only his inability, so he explains, to tell us what that sense is prevents his theory from being both coherent and true.

If, finally, we avert our eyes from the tragic disintegration of this theory and search into its origin, we cannot find that it is relevant to any real question. The coherence-notion has confessedly afforded no solution of either (1) the problem of 'Otherness,' i.e. of the formal and general nature of judgment, or (2) the problem of truth in the strict sense in which 'true' excludes 'false.' But do not these two questions between them make up the whole problem of truth in any significant sense? Mr Joachim, at any rate, has not himself succeeded in giving to it any further meaning.

What he actually has done is this. At the outset he deals, so far as he can be said to deal with anything definite, with the formal nature of judgment; and, taking the correspondence-notion as an attempted solution of this problem, he proposes to *substitute* the notion of 'identity,' between thought and its object, for that of 'otherness.'* He thus creates the impression that he really has an alternative to propose. Moreover, just because he has omitted to ask what it is that he really wants to know, he creates the further impression that he is discussing the distinctive nature of truth. In the next stage of his argument he becomes dimly conscious that, from his own point of view, the worst fault of the correspondence-notion is that it is simply a formal statement of the problem to be solved. His dawning consciousness of the consequent unreality of his own solution now expresses itself as a desire to understand

* Cf. *op. cit.* p. 148. 'As against the crude dualism of the correspondence-notion . . . we are committed to some form of monism.'

the 'relation of the Ideal Truth to the truth of human judgment and inference' (p. 84). That is to say, he begins to realise vaguely that the correspondence-notion concerns itself with the relation of human consciousness to 'reality'; while the coherence-notion merely tries to define that same 'reality' by calling it 'one,' and describing it as one with—well, it is difficult to say with what, except that it certainly is not human, and probably not conscious.* Hence, what seemed to be the most essential difference between the two theories turns out to be one of phrasing only. What the correspondence theory calls 'reality,' the coherence theory calls 'truth.' But, for both, *human* 'truth' consists in a reproduction of the 'reality'; and neither theory does anything more than register the problem which hereby emerges.

But, though neither theory accomplishes more than this, the coherence theory does a good deal less. For at bottom it is nothing more than an insidious attempt to suppress the problem of truth altogether. That is to say, what the correspondence theory avowedly contends for, the coherence theory reluctantly and confusedly admits. Its reluctance is disguised as criticism, and its confusion is offered as an alternative solution; but it never touches the real crux.

There is, to be sure, a slight difference between the two theories in their attitude towards human truth. But this difference merely serves to emphasise the confusedly sceptical character of the coherence theory, and so far is wholly to the advantage of the correspondence-notion. For the direct logical effect of describing 'reality' as 'one' is to stigmatise all human representations thereof, i.e. all our actual 'truths,' as intrinsically and incurably false; and this, not so much because none of them pretends to be final, as because none aspires to be exhaustive.† Thus the only function which a 'monistic' theory can assign to human intelligence is that of *distorting* 'reality.' But if exact reproduction is a meaningless reduplication of existence, in what precise way does inexact reproduction enrich the Absolute's

* *Op. cit.* sect. 28 (pp. 81, 82).

† 'If we are compelled to accept this contention [viz. that truths, in the plural, may be completely true] the coherence-notion of truth, as we have conceived it, cannot be maintained' (*op. cit.* p. 89).

existence or enhance the value of our own? In point of fact, neither of the two theories between which we are asked to choose can show that the reproduction (or distortion) of 'reality' is of any earthly use, or that it fulfils any heavenly purpose. Neither theory is able to attach any meaning to the human discrimination between truth and error, or so much as attempts to show how it can come about; though the correspondence theory has at least the negative merit of not intentionally denying the reality of human knowledge.

Thus Mr Joachim's argument, when it comes to an end, has reached no conclusion; and the correspondence-notion, though *de jure* evicted as insolvent, remains *de facto* in sole possession of the premises. This is the whole explanation of the painful *débâcle* which forms the last stage of the argument. But Mr Joachim himself, as we have seen, never perceives that in the end he has accomplished just nothing at all. The obscurity in which he had involved the question at the outset has enabled him, as the constituent elements thereof separate out and successively rise to the surface of his discussion, to set aside each in turn as a 'difficulty' which we are encouraged to hope may be cleared up at a later stage of the argument. When, in the end, the so-called difficulty is shown to be insoluble, this is regretfully acknowledged, but recorded as indicating merely a partial 'imperfection' of the best theory which Reality's outcast, man, can hope to attain.

The pity of it is that Mr Joachim's shipwreck was indeed, as he himself avows,* 'inevitable.' It must be imputed, not to his defective seamanship, but to the craziness of the vessel to which he had entrusted his fortunes. He differs from other rationalists, not so much in his actual position, as by the fact that his intellectual acuteness renders him more sensible to it, while his sincerity compels him to show how keenly he feels it. From time immemorial the Absolute has refused to work. Though *ex officio* all-inclusive, it has never yet been prevailed on to include finite experience, as such. Mr Bradley's startling avowal, for example, that he does not any longer 'believe in any reality out-

* *Op. cit.* p. 171.

side of and apart from the totality of finite mind,'* does not enable us, nor apparently him, to understand any better than before how the Absolute 'overcomes' that antithesis between itself and 'finite mind' from which it derived its claim to superiority and the semblance of meaning it possessed. So long as this question is answered merely by a 'somehow,' the Absolute remains a mere name for an admittedly unsolved, and apparently insoluble, problem.

It is, however, worth noting that the very considerations which amount logically to an exposure of absolute idealism, furnish at the same time the psychological explanation of the peculiar charm which that doctrine exercises. This fact is specially evident in Mr Bradley's system as stated in his 'Appearance and Reality.'† For the more sharply Absolute Reality is contrasted with 'finite mind,' the more definite must its meaning appear, so long as we refrain from asking how it can mean anything at all; while, in transcending this antithesis, what the Absolute loses in meaning it gains in majesty and mystery. And, of course, the final evanescence of this meaning will be the less noticeable, inasmuch as from the first the meaning was more apparent than real.

Now in Mr Bradley's Absolute both *systole* and *diastole* of this mighty pulsation attain their completest expression. For Absolute Reality, which is *ex vi termini* the absolutely real, seems to get positive significance, to start with, from a sharp contrast with the world of our experience, which it condemns *en bloc* as 'mere appearance.'

This tremendous initial distinction, however, between human thought and reality seems on reflection to bewilder rather than to enlighten. For the indwelling principle, in virtue of which the Absolute, though literally unspeakable, lays claim to supreme reality, is that very 'principle

* 'Mind' (N.S.), No. 62, p. 179.

† Mr Bradley himself, if we understand him aright, has now repented of that ideal of 'theoretical consistency' of which his book is the classical embodiment. For quite recently he has tried to outbid the Pragmatists by producing a 'practical creed,' described by himself as an 'intelligent refusal to accept as final any theoretical criterion which actually so far exists.' By this 'practical creed,' it seems, 'we are emancipated once and for all from the narrowness of all one-sided attempts at consistency.' ('Mind' (N.S.), No. 66, p. 230.) Mr Alfred Sidgwick, in N.S. No. 67, p. 368, has some instructive comments on these last straits of rationalism.

of contradiction' which is upheld as the expression of our purely human demand for intellectual satisfaction. As Prof. Dewey well says :

'Long familiarity has not dulled my astonishment at finding exactly the same set of considerations, which in the earlier portion of the book are employed to condemn reality as experienced by us to the region of Appearance, employed in the latter portion of the book to afford a triumphant demonstration of the existence and general character of Absolute Reality.' ('Mind' (N.S.), No. 63, p. 321.)

According to Mr Bradley, the Absolute (1) is a necessity of thought, (2) enters into its inheritance by reason of the 'suicide' of thought. Proposition (1) is established by the contention that thought demands a reality that shall be absolutely free from self-contradiction ; proposition (2) by proving that nothing thinkable can satisfy this demand as he interprets it. And these two propositions together define the essential nature of the Absolute ; and therefore must be taken as an illustration of what is meant by saying that it is 'such that it does not contradict itself.' We here get a strange variant of the 'Cogito ergo sum' of Descartes, blended with an equally strange variant of the 'ontological argument.' The theses are—'I think ; therefore I am not real, but the Absolute is' ; and 'Reality must be such as to satisfy an idea which is unthinkable for me.'

Nevertheless it may freely be confessed that there is no possibility of combating Mr Bradley's theory of the essentially suicidal nature of thought otherwise than by that conception of the nature of meaning which we owe to Mr A. Sidgwick, and which may be condensed into the dictum, 'Meaning lies in application.' Conversely, to adopt this view is definitely to abandon that purely formal conception of proof which underlies all rationalistic reasoning.

The rationalistic assumption that the 'principle of contradiction' is so fundamental, so absolute, so undeniable, and so unambiguous, that it may forthwith be applied regardless of consequences, naturally leads to an absolutely uncritical and utterly barren use of the principle. We come here upon the ultimate clash between the ideals of formal logic and of a critical logic

which studies thought in action and principles in use. Mr Sidgwick's contention is that reckless reliance on so-called *a-priori* truths is the essence of formal reasoning; and that the purely formal turns out to be the purely verbal. Hence genuine, as opposed to merely verbal, criticism of abstract principles means essentially their reconsideration and reinterpretation in the light of the use actually made of them. To use a principle is, in fact, at once to define its meaning and to test its validity. On the other hand, abstract 'truths,' taken in their abstractness—i.e. apart from their practical working—can be said to have a meaning by courtesy only. In this state of their being the 'meaning' is a mere potentiality—and always highly indeterminate at that. The proposition 'means' whatever any one can manage to assert with it. If, however, a 'truth' cannot be used at all in the organisation of our experience, then to credit it with a meaning is to stretch courtesy beyond the bounds of reason. Thorough-going inapplicability means a break-down, not only as regards validity, but even as regards sense; and such a break-down is only verbally disguised by affixing the label of 'mere appearance' to the facts which inconveniently refuse to disappear on the incantation of a wordy formula. In general it follows that the more unquestioning the theoretic confidence inspired by the *a-priori* character of an 'axiom,' the more effectively will it lead us astray in practice. But it is only by sad experience of the practical failures of 'self-evident' principles that we discover the guile that lurked in them. Hence we may say that there are no *a-priori* truths; there are only *a-priori* fallacies.*

Thus the pragmatic principle 'meaning lies in application,' though the fruit of much experience, is in a profound sense logically prior to all other principles whatsoever. In flouting this more fundamental principle, Mr Bradley supplies as striking an illustration and confirmation thereof as could well be desired. For so he is enabled to 'prove' that self-contradiction is of the very essence of human thought. Since, according to Mr Bradley, to think at all is to contradict one's self, it follows that where there is no self-contradiction there is, humanly speaking,

* Cf. Mr A. Sidgwick on 'Applied Axioms,' in 'Mind' (N.S.), No. 53.

no meaning. Which is, of course, a direct inversion of the only useful interpretation of the 'principle of contradiction,' viz. that a real self-contradiction involves a failure of meaning. For a person who contradicts *himself* by embracing both of a pair of mutually exclusive alternatives, makes it not so much unnecessary as impossible for any one else to contradict him intelligently. In other words, it is a prime requisite of meaning in any discussion that the functions of denial and assertion should be exercised by different persons. Finally, we may observe that in the light of Mr Bradley's interpretation of the 'principle of contradiction,' his statement that 'ultimate reality is such that it does not contradict itself,'* takes on the character of a fatal admission rather than of an extravagant claim. If we take his own interpretation of the terms used, the statement means that his 'reality,' in order to rid itself of error, has purged its system of all significance. While, if we adhere to the useful interpretation of 'self-contradiction,' we must say that his 'reality' is such that it *does* contradict itself. For, according to him, the formal laws of our thinking compel us to believe in an 'absolute reality' whose absoluteness entails our inability to think it, and whose reality therefore, if we could really believe in it or even barely conceive it, would *ipso facto* be reduced to 'mere appearance.' Thus the Absolute, as such, is 'riddled with contradictions', and its ideal freedom from self-contradiction is in reality only an aggravation of its unhappy state. In a word, it is intrinsically meaningless.

But perhaps finite intelligence should not presume to criticise the Absolute. It must be admitted that the critic here is at a signal disadvantage. For absolutists themselves allow that they are partly human; and one never knows at any given moment whether a human absolutist is standing on his human or his absolute leg. Any criticism whatsoever of any absolutist system may be met by saying that the objections which seem insuperable 'from the point of view of the human intelligence' are invisible from the standpoint of the Absolute. Let it be granted then, for the sake of argument, that the Absolute has a meaning, even if this meaning resides in the Absolute

* 'Appearance and Reality,' p. 136.

alone, and not at all in the mind of man. Let us concede that so long as the Absolute knows what it means, it matters not that *we* can never know what *we* mean by saying so. Let us grant all this; for otherwise we shall never get on from that part of Mr Bradley's book which is entitled 'Appearance' to the more inspiring part which discourses of 'Reality.'

We can now ask, to what use does Mr Bradley put his Absolute once he has got it? The tale is soon told. Having vindicated its own title to perfect significance by rejecting as self-contradictory whatsoever has had, or ever will have, the irretrievable misfortune to become an object of human thought, the absolutely real quietly assumes the rôle of the really absolute; and having thus once more included, *ex vi termini*, all that the absolutely real verbally excludes, it can proceed triumphantly to 'absorb' and to 'transmute' our human thought with all its contradictions. But *how* it achieves this, and *what* it makes of our experience, is its own closely kept secret, which it could not reveal to human intelligence even if it would. Thus the Absolute's eternal life consists in (verbally) 'overcoming' an absolute but unintelligible distinction between itself and the only kind of reality that *we* can ever hope to know. So that the Absolute, which originally gained its footing in our thought by promising us 'intellectual satisfaction,' in the end retains its position by ministering to our emotional capacity for uncomprehending awe.

But we need not follow up our enquiry into the emotional value of an incomprehensible Absolute; nor even explicitly raise the question wherein such an Absolute now differs from the agnostic's Unknowable. For our immediate purpose it is enough to note that the final 'difficulties' of absolutism to which Mr Joachim succumbs are neither factitious nor novel, nor due to any fault of exposition. They are inherent in the vitals of the system. The logical situation, in short, is that depicted by Dr Schiller in his essay on 'Absolutism and Religion':

'It has now for more than a quarter of a century been recognised by absolutist philosophy that there exists at its core a serious gap between the human mind and the superhuman "ideal" which it deifies, and that it possesses no logical

bridge by which to pass from the one to the other.' ('Studies in Humanism,' p. 282.)

After referring to T. H. Green's confession that these two 'aspects' of consciousness, *qua* human and *qua* eternal, 'cannot be comprehended in a single conception,'* Dr Schiller continues:

'This being so, it is interesting to see what his friends and followers have made of a situation which ought surely to be intolerable to a rational theory. Has its rationalistic pride been in any way abated? Not a whit. Has its doctrine ceased to be taught? Not at all. Has it been amended? In no wise. Have attempts been made to bridge the chasm? No; but its existence has repeatedly been "recognised." Mr Bradley "recognises" it as the problem how the Absolute "transmutes" "appearances" (= the world of our experience) into "reality" (= his utopian ideal); but his answer is merely that the trick is achieved by a gigantic "somehow." Mr Joachim "recognises" it as "the dual nature of human experience," but will not throw over it even a mantle of words. Prof. J. S. Mackenzie "recognises" it by remarking "that a truly conceptual object cannot, properly speaking, be contained in a divine mind, any more than in a human mind, unless the divine mind is *something wholly different from anything* that we understand by a mind."† Has the difficulty led to any analysis of its grounds, or revision of its assumptions? Not to my knowledge. It has been "recognised," and is now recognised as "old"‡ and familiar and venerable; and what more would you have? Surely not an answer? Surely not a Rationalism which shall be rational? It is, and remains, a "difficulty," and that is the end of it' (pp. 282, 283).

Our original suspicions of absolutism have now been fully confirmed. Not only is it not a theory of real truth at all, but it is not even a theory of formal truth. Its failure to discriminate, in the beginning, the two senses of 'truth' has reduced the whole question to nonsense.

It is this state of affairs which has prompted Dr Schiller to make a capital point of the 'Ambiguity of Truth.'§ All actual judgments claim truth, but not all are able to make their claim good, i.e. not all alike are

* Green's 'Prolegomena to Ethics,' sect. 68.

† 'Mind,' xv (N.S.), 59, p. 326, *note*. (The italics are Dr Schiller's.)

‡ 'As we have seen, it is essentially as old as Plato.' [Author's *note*.]

§ Briefly, in his essay on 'Truth,' in 'Humanism,' pp. 57 and 98, *note*, and fully in the fifth essay in 'Studies in Humanism.'

valid. Hence, in treating of the formal nature of judgment, or of truth-claims, it is not only permissible, but imperative, to abstract from the distinction between truth and error. But, when a formal enquiry into the general nature of judgment is, under one guise or another, made to do duty as a critical enquiry into the nature of the distinction between true judgments and false, what can result but verbalism and confusion?

For more than two thousand years the devotees of pure Intellect, under the impression that in this name they were worshipping Truth, have been sacrificing, not only their own time, but all the time there is, at the altar of the false goddess, Truth-claim. If, therefore, humanist criticism had done nothing more than show that the distinction between truth-claim and truth as validity, however obvious and undeniable in the abstract, may yet in the actual practice of philosophers be wholly forgotten, to the ruin of all logical meaning—if it had done no more than this, it would still mark a turning-point in philosophic history.

But humanist criticism has done much more than this to vindicate its essentially constructive purport. It has laid its finger on the precise point at which absolutism has cut itself off from the possibility of dealing effectively, or otherwise than merely verbally, with this crucial question of the nature of the distinction between truth and error. And in doing so, it has made clear a definite issue between itself and absolutism. For, if Dr Schiller is right, the *πρώτον ψεύδος* of absolutist modes of thinking lies in their abstraction from the temporal aspect of thought and their consequent 'depersonalisation' of the judgment, i.e. their abstraction from that contribution to the total context of the judgment which comes from its origination in an individual mind and its usefulness for others. Humanism is nothing more nor less than the correction of these abstractions. Dr Schiller has here driven home the lesson—first distinctly enunciated by Mr Sidgwick—that the actual meaning of an assertion is relative to its context. This is really only another way of saying that 'meaning lies in application.' But Dr Schiller's point is that the concrete context, to which the actual meaning is relative, is not (as for absolutism) vaguely the universe at large, nor even (as for Mr

Sidgwick) the sort of cases for which the judgment is intended, but still more specifically and essentially the actual purpose of the man who makes and uses it.* Apart from such use, the questions which we can raise about its 'meaning' become matters of mere grammar. For the grammarian, the 'meaning' of an assertion (or rather, sentence) is the average meaning which the average man who 'knows its meaning' understands in an average context. From this position to the idea that words and sentences have really in some mysterious way a permanent meaning apart from context and from actual use, is a step which mythopœic man finds fatally seductive. And, having once taken this step, he can manufacture 'eternal verities' at will by the easy process of neglecting the human applications which alone could confer real meaning on them or put that meaning to the test. The conviction, or rather assumption, that the 'objectivity of truth' must be interpreted as meaning that truth is essentially timeless and impersonal, we shall in future call 'objectivism,' though perhaps its proper name should be the 'grammarian's fallacy.'

We have already seen that the philosophy which pre-eminently prides itself on its 'objective' treatment of thought is quite incapable of coping with the problem of error. It now appears that it is this very objectivism which is the source of its helplessness. As Dr Schiller contends, and Mr Joachim proudly insists,† it is just the fully concrete personal and temporal context of the judgment which 'objective' idealism systematically treats as non-existent. But this makes the distinction between truth and error nugatory and inapplicable. 'Truth,' taken in this 'objective' way, is, and eternally remains, truth-claim only; all verification is of necessity a temporal process and an affair of personal experience. This epistemological contrast thus yields the most distinctive mark of Humanism.

It is of course quite true that to allow the logical relevance of the personal and temporal aspects of thought is to blunt the sharpness of the traditional distinction

* In principle this is also what Prof. J. Dewey means by calling thought 'instrumental.' But Dr Schiller has emphasised more than any one else the personal character of this psychological context.

† See 'The Nature of Truth,' pp. 167, 168.

between logic and psychology. But the question now raised is precisely whether logic can survive its complete severance from psychology. After all, distinctions between sciences are not heaven-sent revelations. They have all been made by man, presumably for some purpose; and this exposes them to revision whenever they fail to fulfil that purpose. Now, ever since Aristotle, it has been agreed that it is characteristic of logic to take cognisance of the difference between true judgments and false. But this is precisely what the 'objective,' or non-psychological, treatment of logic has so far failed to do. To depersonalise thought succeeds in distinguishing logic from psychology only by reducing it to grammar. Nay, it now appears that to abstract from the reference of thought to time is of itself enough to destroy the very distinction between logical and 'merely psychological' thinking on which 'objective' logic based its claims. Logical validity is not to be gained by this cheap and easy way of cutting adrift from psychical fact and making 'truths' immutable by taking them 'out of time.'

For to say that logic must deal with the distinction between truth and error is to admit that it is essentially the science of criticism. Criticism is the revision of previously accepted 'truths.' This revision cannot be purely *a priori*, dialectical or formal; it must be a process of adjusting preconceived notions to the facts of progressive experience; for, as we have seen, principles get their meaning from the uses to which they are put. But 'objective truth' was, by definition, absolute, eternal, and unalterable. It is therefore insusceptible of revision. Hence to apply this notion of 'objective truth' to any actual belief is to regard such belief as *de jure* beyond the reach of criticism. Thus objectivism is the negation of criticism; it is indistinguishable from pure dogmatism, and soars beyond the domain of a critical logic altogether.

It is, moreover, equally indistinguishable from pure scepticism. For it can never meet the challenge, 'How do you ever find beliefs that actually are objectively true?' Objectivism gladly grants man a monopoly for the unrestricted production and distribution of error, but allows him no share in the manufacture of truth. For error is 'subjective,' and truth 'objective.' They are thus assigned respectively to totally different spheres of

being, and no longer denote discriminative valuations within human experience. How can 'truth' so 'objective' as this ever become an object of human thought? Truth has been *defined* as unattainable; and what is this but absolute scepticism?

The fact that objectivism may be indifferently regarded as dogmatism or as scepticism sounds paradoxical. But the paradox is most instructive. It means that uncritical acceptance and indiscriminate rejection of truth-claims both come to the same thing, namely formalism. In either case 'truth' becomes an idle word. Objectivism dogmatically asserts its belief in the existence of an unimprovable truth, which it sceptically hastens to add is unprovable and unattainable by man. Thus it doubly renounces the duty of helping man to sift the true from the false in his actual beliefs. How then can it be said to deal with the problem of truth at all? Instead of reaching, as it professes, a super-truth, has it not contented itself with infra-truth, or truth-claim?

But perhaps we may conclude that objectivism, alike whether it denies the possibility of error or the possibility of knowledge, i.e. whether it calls itself dogmatism or scepticism, is essentially a piece of academic make-believe. No sane man would dream of appealing to its logic for guidance in life or for the advancement of science. As human beings with practical needs and scientific interests, we simply cannot afford to relax our efforts to 'discern' truth, i.e. to separate it out from that undifferentiated magma of the true and false with which truth-claims initially supply us. This process, moreover, never comes to a standstill. When we ask what is the effective or applicable meaning of 'truth,' we can only answer that a belief is true so long as it holds good, i.e. so long as it does the work required of it. And this 'holding good' is relative to the concrete experience of the persons for whom it holds good. Contrariwise, a belief that fails under the experience-test is discarded as 'false.' But, for us, both truth and error come into existence in the very process of being 'found out.' The distinction between truth and error, when thus brought within human experience, is one of which we make continuous use. It is for those who claim that the distinction has some other meaning to explain how that

supposed meaning can be applied to concrete cases. Otherwise the alleged meaning is mere 'sound and fury, signifying nothing.'

We have now shown that of the current notions of Truth the absolutist notion is devoid of all real meaning, while the humanist notion is contrived to supply its deficiency. But, for the sake of clearness, we may now briefly summarise our contentions.

For knowledge to be possible, human thought must be supplied with 'objects' which man's thought can measure. But we are not concerned with this merely formal relation of thought to its 'objects'; what we are concerned with is the question why some of them are valued as 'real' and others discarded as 'unreal.' Still more precisely, what we are concerned with is the progressive remodelling to which our thought-world is subjected. So long as we are content to consider the relation of thought and 'object' statically, or *sub specie æternitatis*, the 'object' remains merely formal, and the thought remains mere truth-claim. Whatever can be said of the 'object' thus considered is as applicable to the object of a false judgment as to that of a true. Hence the distinction between 'true' and 'false,' 'real' and 'unreal,' only becomes applicable, i.e. only acquires real meaning, when thought is taken in its dynamic and temporal aspect. To dehumanise truth, therefore, is to extract and cast aside its very essence. And conversely, reality, as known to us, becomes inseparable from human striving. For indefeasible reality is not given to us at the outset, nor is it ever reached without prolonged and laborious trials.

Moreover, the 'independence' which thought ascribes to whatever is taken as real is likewise formal, in that it does nothing to explain how the discrimination between 'real' and 'unreal' is effected. Indeed the more this 'independence' is emphasised, the more irresistibly are we driven to look elsewhere for the essential nature of truth. Considered as merely 'independent,' the object is not concerned to impress its nature upon *us*; nor yet to impress the 'right' view of its nature rather than the 'wrong' one; *it* does not induce us to correct 'mistaken' views, and to supplant a worse view by a better. All this is specifically *our* concern and our doing. It is by

us that mistakes are made, and it is by us that they are unmade. Our anxiety to avoid making them would be perfectly irrational if, when once they were made, the need for replacing them by something better could never be brought home to us. And nothing more nor less than this is what humanists mean when they speak of the 'making of truth' by man. No declaration of the object's 'independence' is relevant to our problem, nor can it be allowed to prevail over the rights of man to the possession of truth. So far Humanism merely states the vital problem. But, once we are determined to face it, how can we avoid defining truth essentially in terms of human interest?

No infallible criterion of absolute truth, certainly, can be found in this way; we cannot pretend to possess a 'truth' that can never play us false. The bare existence of error makes such pretence a mockery. But against this admission of human fallibility may be set the proved inability of absolutism to fulfil its pledges, i.e. to provide any applicable criterion whatsoever. Our actual truths always inhere in time and in personality, and, as both are inexhaustible, remain susceptible of limitless improvement. Thus, though actually 'true,' they are potentially 'false'; for they may be rendered out of date. But this does not detract from their essential truthfulness so long as they serve their purpose; nor, when they prove erroneous, is their error absolute. The notion of 'absolutes,' whether of truth or of error, is utterly formal.

That abstract truths are proved true only by approving and embodying themselves in concrete personal experience; that truth-seeking must be truth-testing; and that the final test of truth is the capacity of beliefs to express and maintain themselves in action—such is the answer which humanists agree in giving to the great question which they alone have unequivocally raised. In short, it is evident that the mere raising of this question entails a revolution in philosophy and a systematic reinterpretation of all its problems, while the applications of the humanist answers to every department of life are so varied and inexhaustible as fully to justify the commotion which the rise of Humanism provoked in the pallid realms of technical philosophy.

HOWARD V. KNOX.

Art. 5.—THE ESSENTIALS OF GREAT POETRY.

THE decay of authority is one of the most marked features of our time. Religion, politics, art, manners, speech, even morality, considered in its widest sense, have all felt the waning of traditional authority, and the substitution for it of individual opinion and taste, and of the wavering and contradictory utterances of publications ostensibly occupied with criticism and supposed to be pronouncing serious judgments. By authority I do not mean the delivery of dogmatic decisions, analogous to those issued by a legal tribunal from which there is no appeal, that have to be accepted and obeyed, but the existence of a body of opinion of long standing, arrived at after due investigation and experience during many generations, and reposing on fixed principles or fundamentals of thought. This it is that is being dethroned in our day, and is being supplanted by a babel of clashing, irreconcilable utterances, often proceeding from the same quarters, even the same mouths.

In no department of thought has this been more conspicuous than in that of literature, especially the higher class of literature; and it is most patent in the prevailing estimate of that branch of literature to which lip-homage is still paid as the highest of all, viz. poetry. Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, have not been openly dethroned; but it would require some boldness to deny that even their due recognition has been indirectly questioned by a considerable amount of neglect, as compared with the interest shown alike by readers and reviewers in poets and poetry of lesser stature. Are we to conclude from this that there is no standard, that there exist no permanent canons by which the relative greatness of poets and poetry can be estimated with reasonable conclusiveness? It is the purpose of this essay to show that such there are.

The expression of individual opinion upon a subject so wide, no matter who the individual might be, would obviously be worthless; and I have no wish to do what has been done too often in our time, to substitute personal taste or bias for canons of criticism that have stood the test of time, and whereon the relative position

of poets, great, less great, and comparatively inferior, has reposed. The inductive method was employed long before it was explicitly proclaimed as distinct from and more trustworthy than the merely deductive; and it is such method that will, if indirectly, be employed in this paper. Finally, I shall carefully abstain from the rhetorical enthusiasm or invective that clouds the judgment of writers and readers alike, and invariably degenerates into personal dogmatism, together with intolerance of those who think otherwise. After indicating, to the best of my ability, the laws of thought and the canons of criticism on which should repose the estimate of the poetic hierarchy, I will then ask the reader to observe if the conclusions leave the recognised Masters of Song—Homer, Æschylus, Euripides, Sophocles, Virgil, Lucretius, Dante, Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, Byron—unassailed and unshaken in their poetic supremacy.

There must perforce be certain qualities common to all poetry, whether the greatest, the less great, or the comparatively inferior, and whether descriptive, lyrical, idyllic, reflective, epic, or dramatic; and, so long as there existed any authority or body of generally accepted opinion on the subject, these were at least two such qualities, viz. melodiousness, whether sweet or sonorous, and lucidity or clearness of expression, to be apprehended, without laborious investigation, by highly cultured and simple readers alike. Melodiousness is a quality so essential to, and so inseparable from, all verse that is poetry, that it often, by its mere presence, endows with the character of poetry verse of a very rudimentary kind, verse that just crosses the border between prosaic and poetic verse, and would otherwise be denied admission to the territory of the Muses. Some of the enthusiasts to whom allusion has been made have, I am assured, declared of certain compositions of our time, 'This would be poetry, even if it meant nothing at all'—a dictum calculated, like others enunciated in our days, to harden the plain man in his disdain of poetry altogether. It would not be difficult to quote melodious verse published in our time of which it is no exaggeration to say that the words in it are used rather as musical notes than as words signifying anything. In all likelihood such compositions, and the widespread liking for them,

arise partly from the prevailing preference for music over the other arts, and in part from the mental indolence that usually accompanies emotion in all but the highest minds. Nevertheless it cannot be too much insisted on that music, or melodiousness, either sweet or sonorous, is absolutely indispensable to poetry; and where it is absent, poetry is absent, even though thought and wide speculation be conspicuous in it. As Horace put it long ago in his 'Art of Poetry,'

'Non satis est pulchra esse poemata: dulcia sunt.'

Almost as essential to poetry, and equally as regards poetry of the loftiest and poetry of the lowliest kind, is lucidity, or clearness of expression. No poet of much account is ever obscure, unless the text happens to be corrupt. When essays and even volumes are issued, since deemed indispensable for the understanding of a writer labelled as a poet, one may be quite sure that, however deep a thinker, he is not a poet of the first order, and not a poet at all in the passages that require such explanation. When one hears a well-authenticated story to the effect that a great scholar said of an English paraphrase of a well-known Greek poem, that he thought he had succeeded in gathering its meaning with the help of the original, one ought to know what to think of the work. Yet, though much of its author's verse is of that non-lucid character, it is habitually saluted by many critics as great poetry. With all respect, I venture to affirm that in such circumstances the designation must be a misnomer. I remember a poem being read to me, in perfect good faith, by its author, a man of great mental distinction and no little imagination, of which, though I listened with the closest attention, not only did I not understand one word, but I had not the faintest idea, as the colloquial phrase is, what it was about. When it was published, I asked three ardent admirers of the author to explain to me its meaning. They failed entirely to do so. The saying, concerning the orator, *clarescit urendo*, is even yet more applicable to the poet. He brightens as he burns. Yet, of recent times, verse fuliginous, clouded, and enshrouded in obscurity, has been hailed in many quarters, not only as poetry, but poetry of an exceptionally superior sort.

If it be urged that Dante, and even Shakespeare, do not always yield up their meaning to the reader at once, the allegation must be traversed absolutely. The immediate apprehension of the meaning of the 'Vita Nuova' and the 'Divina Commedia' presupposes an intimate acquaintance with the various dialects of the Italian language existing in Dante's time, and likewise with the erudition he scatters so profusely, if allusively, throughout his verse. But to the Italian readers of Dante, even superficially acquainted with those dialects, and adequate masters of the theology and the astronomy of Dante's time, those poems present no difficulty. Of Shakespeare, the greatest of all the poets in our language, let it be granted that he is not unoften one of the most careless and even most slovenly; but rarely is he so to the obscuring of his meaning, and never save casually, and in some brief passage. Yet let it not be inferred that I am of opinion that the full meaning of the greatest passages in the greatest poems is to be seized all at once, or by the average reader at all. That is 'deeper than ever plummet sounded,' though Tennyson's 'indolent reviewer' apparently imagines that he at once fathoms the more intellectual poetry of his time. There can be but few readers, and possibly none but poets themselves, or persons who, to quote Tennyson again, 'have the great poetic heart,' who master the full significance of 'Hamlet' or of the tersely told story of Francesca da Rimini. But the whole world at once understood the more obvious tenor of both, and is not puzzled by either. There is a sliding scale of understanding, as there is a sliding scale of inspiration. 'We needs must love the highest when we see it'; but 'when we see it' is an important qualification in the statement.

I do not know that there are any qualities save melodiousness, sweet or sonorous, and lucidity, that are absolutely essential to whatever is to be regarded as poetry. In order to preclude misapprehension, let it be added that, while both are essential to poetry, they will not, by themselves, go far towards endowing verse with the poetic character. As an example of this, let me cite verse which is not unmelodious, though not specially remarkable for melodiousness, and not obscure, yet is not poetry, and hardly on the border of it:

'I have a boy of five years old ;
 His face is fair and fresh to see ;
 His limbs are cast in beauty's mould,
 And dearly he loves me.
 One morn we strolled on our dry walk,
 Our quiet home all full in view,
 And held such intermitted talk
 As we are wont to do.
 My thoughts on former pleasures ran ;
 I thought of Kilve's delightful shore,
 Our pleasant home when spring began,
 A long, long year before.
 A day it was when I could bear
 Some fond regrets to entertain ;
 With so much happiness to spare,
 I could not feel a pain.'

This blameless, correct, harmonious, and thoroughly lucid verse is by a poet who has written poetry of the noblest quality, no less a poet than Wordsworth. Yet he sorely tries his readers by page after page no more poetical than the foregoing; and he offered, on the first appearance of every volume of his, ample matter for such critics as would rather be sweepingly censorious than discriminating, to depreciate and even to ridicule him. His reverent admirers, who comprise all true lovers of poetry, are acquainted with, and probably possess, a copy of Matthew Arnold's Selection, entitled 'Poems of Wordsworth'—a small volume which that gifted Wordsworthian, who knew and acknowledged with his usual sense of humour how many unpoetical 'sermons,' as he called them, Wordsworth had written, deliberately considered to contain all the real poetry he has left us. If I may refer for a moment to my own copy of it, this is scored with brief observations in pencil, the upshot of which is that the small fraction of his work, which Matthew Arnold too liberally wished to be regarded as *digna Phæbi*, would have again to be materially reduced by a dispassionate criticism.

The most generous critic, if he is to be discriminating and just, cannot, let me say again, allow that any verse which is profoundly obscure or utterly unmusical, no matter how intellectual in substance, deserves the appellation of poetry. But on a very thin thread of meaning

poetry, or a very fair imitation of it, may be hung by the aid of musical sound. Without going so far as Arnold again, who once wrote to me that Shelley's 'My soul is an enchanted boat' seemed to him 'mere musical verbiage,' that poem might serve as an instance of verse which, in spite of tenuity of meaning, becomes poetry by sheer magic of exquisite music.

'My soul is an enchanted boat,
Which, like a sleeping swan, doth float
Upon the silver waves of thy sweet singing;
And thine doth like an angel sit
Beside a helm conducting it,
Whilst all the winds with melody are ringing
It seems to float ever, for ever,
Upon that many-winding river,
Between mountains, woods, abysses,
A paradise of wildernesses!
Till, like one in slumber bound,
Borne to the ocean, I float down, around,
Into a sea profound of ever-spreading sound.'

There is a magic of sound in the verse so enchanting to a reader that he may be pardoned for failing to observe at once that it is mainly musical fancy. Many may remember a line of Tennyson,

'Like a tale of little meaning, though the words are strong.'

And are we not compelled to feel, on second thoughts, if we have any capacity for discrimination, that here we have poetry of little meaning, though the verse is exquisitely melodious? This is, I conclude, what Arnold meant when he designated it, with a little exaggeration, 'musical verbiage.'

I have been obliged to linger somewhat on the threshold of my subject in order to emphasise the essential importance and inseparable quality of metrical melodiousness and lucidity in poetry, in order that, in whatever follows in this paper, these indispensable conditions may not be lost sight of; and also because of late each of them has been ousted from consideration by those who have striven, and still strive, to induce literary opinion to accept not only as poetry, but as great poetry, what is conspicuously lacking in both. That I shall have the assent, however, of the weight of authority on this point,

and likewise that of the ordinary unaffected lover of poetry, I can scarcely doubt; the more so, as the conclusions thus far reached leave undisturbed upon their seats those mighty ones, of all tongues and all nations, whose universally recognised greatness has received the seal and sanction of many generations.

What may be called the first principles of poetry having thus been propounded, without any necessity for reaffirming them in the investigation of other conclusions yet to be reached, I may move on to what I imagine will be less familiar and perhaps more original in the search for 'The Essentials of Great Poetry.' If we carefully observe the gradual development of mental power in human beings, irrespectively of any reference to poetry, but as applied to general objects of human interest, we shall find that the advance from elementary to supreme expansion of mental power is in the following order of succession, each preceding element in mental development being retained on the appearance of its successor—(1) Perception, vague at first, as in the newly born, gradually becoming more definite, along with desires of an analogous kind; (2) Sentiment, also vague at first, but by degrees becoming more definite, until it attaches itself to one or more objects exclusively; (3) Thought or Reflection, somewhat hazy in its inception, and often remaining in that condition to the last; (4) Action, which is attended and assisted by the three preceding qualities of Perception, Sentiment, and Thought or Reflection. In other words, human beings perceive before they feel, perceive and feel before they think, perceive, feel, and think before they act, or at least before they act reasonably, though it may be but imperfectly, and though the later or higher stages may in many cases scarcely be reached at all.

Now let us see if, in poetry, the same order or succession in development and expansion does not exist. Never forgetting the essential qualities of melody and lucidity, do we not find that mere descriptive verse, which depends on perception or observation, is the humblest and most elementary form of poetry; that descriptive verse, when suffused with sentiment, gains in value and charm; that if, to the foregoing, thought or reflection be superadded, there is a conspicuous rise in dignity, majesty, and

relative excellence; and finally, that the employment of these in narrative action, whether epic or dramatic, carries us on to a stage of supreme excellence which can rarely be predicated of any poetry in which action is absent? If this be so, we have to the successive development of observation, feeling, thought, and action, an exact analogy or counterpart in (1) Descriptive Poetry; (2) Lyrical Poetry; (3) Reflective Poetry; (4) Epic or Dramatic Poetry; in each of which, melody and lucidity being always present, there is an advance in poetic value over the preceding stage, without the preceding one being eliminated from its progress.

Once again let us have recourse to illustration, which, when fairly chosen, is probably the most effective method for securing assent. Wordsworth presents us with an ample supply of illustrations in three out of the four different kinds of poetry; and therefore to him let us have recourse. In reading the first stanza of 'The Pet Lamb,' and two or three stanzas that follow, we have descriptive verse which may be regarded as very elementary poetry, but to which it would seem to many to be hypercritical to refuse that designation. It is too well-known to need citation. The opening lines of 'The Leech-Gatherer' display the same elementary descriptive character.

'There was a roaring in the wind all night;
The rain came heavily and fell in floods;
But now the sun is rising calm and bright;
The birds are singing in the distant woods;
Over his own sweet voice the Stock-dove broods;
The Jay makes answer as the Magpie chatters;
And all the air is filled with pleasant noise of waters.

All things that love the Sun are out of doors;
The sky rejoices in the morning's birth;
The grass is bright with rain-drops; on the moors
The Hare is running races in her mirth;
And with her feet she from the plashy earth
Raises a mist, that, glittering in the sun,
Runs with her all the way, wherever she doth run.

I was a traveller then upon the moor;
I saw the Hare that raced about with joy;
I heard the woods and distant waters roar;
Or heard them not, as happy as a boy;

The pleasant season did my heart employ;
 My old remembrances went from me wholly,
 And all the ways of men, so vain and melancholy.'

I perceive that, in my copy of the volume of Selections made by Matthew Arnold from the poems of Wordsworth, already alluded to, I have written at the end of 'Margaret,' 'If this be poetry, surely many people may say they have written poetry all their lives without knowing it.' But as Matthew Arnold's critical opinions will carry more weight than mine, and he has included 'Margaret' in his Selection, let me quote a dozen lines or so from its opening passage:

'Twas Summer, and the Sun had mounted high:
 Southward the landscape indistinctly glared
 Through a pale steam; but all the northern downs,
 In clearest air ascending, showed far off
 A surface dappled o'er with shadows flung
 From brooding clouds; shadows that lay in spots
 Determined and unmoved, with steady beams
 Of bright and pleasant sunshine interposed;
 Pleasant to him who on the soft cool moss
 Extends his careless limbs along the front
 Of some huge cave, whose rocky ceiling casts
 A twilight of its own, an ample shade,
 Where the Wren warbles.'

But there is, it must not be overlooked, merely Descriptive Poetry of a much higher kind than the foregoing, though Wordsworth may not be the best source from which to draw it. Perhaps its highest possibilities are to be found in Byron, and conspicuously in the third and fourth cantos of 'Childe Harold.' Many of the passages of the kind that one remembers there are, however, either too much suffused with the poet's personal feeling, or too closely connected with great incidents in history and the fall of empires, to be quite pertinent examples. A minor but sufficient example taken from 'Childe Harold' may suffice for illustration:

'It is the hush of night, and all between
 Thy margin and the mountains, dusk, yet clear,
 Mellow'd and mingling, yet distinctly seen,
 Save darken'd Jura, whose cap't heights appear

Precipitously steep; and drawing near,
 There breathes a living fragrance from the shore,
 Of flowers yet fresh with childhood; on the ear
 Drops the light drip of the suspended oar,
 Or chirps the grasshopper one good-night carol more.'

Far finer instances of poetry essentially descriptive in the same poem may be referred to, e.g. Canto IV, stanza xcix, beginning 'There is a stern round tower of other days'; stanza cvii, beginning with 'Cypress and ivy, weed and wallflower grown'; stanza clxxiii, descriptive of Lake Nemi; and even—for it also is strictly descriptive—stanza cxl, opening with the well-known line 'I see before me the gladiator lie.'

It could not be allowed that any of these, considered separately, satisfies the conditions or essentials of great poetry, though, in company with others, they contribute to that character in a very great poem indeed. Moreover, they serve to show that even mere Descriptive Poetry, which I have spoken of as the 'lowest' or most elementary kind of poetry, may rise to striking elevation of merit, and has its counterpart in the sliding scale of observation in various individuals.

Let us now take a step, and a long one, in the scale of importance attained by the various kinds of poetry, and consider the classics of Lyrical Poetry. Here extensive quotation will be less necessary, partly by reason of the wide ground Lyrical Poetry covers, and partly because of its relative popularity in our time, and the familiarity of so many readers with its most enchanting specimens. There is ample room for personal taste and individual idiosyncrasy within the vast boundaries of this fruitful field. Many persons are sadly wanting in observation; and to only a minority can real, serious thought be ascribed. But we all feel, we all have visitations of sentiment; and therefore to all of us is Lyrical Poetry more or less welcome.

The causes, personal and social, that have given to Lyrical Poetry in our time almost exclusive favour in public taste will be dealt with presently. It will distract less from our main purpose to confine ourselves for the present to the recognition of the fact, and to seek to show how very various are the degrees of eminence in Lyrical Poetry. The lyrical note is so natural to poets and

poetry that we may expect to find it in the verse of all poets, though in a minor degree in didactic verse; while in some poets it almost monopolises their utterance. Though perhaps not obvious to many ears to-day, it lurks in no little of Pope's 'Epistle of Eloisa to Abelard,' and is unmistakably present in his 'Ode on St Cecilia's Day.' If I am asked if the lyrical note is to be found in Chaucer, the reply must be that, though Chaucer has left nothing which the modern reader would recognise as lyrical, what is called his iambic or five-foot metre is far more anapæstic and lyrical than is the case with any subsequent poet, except Shakespeare. There is a lilt in it equivalent to the lyrical note, which those who read as Chaucer wrote recognise at once. One has only to read the opening lines of the Prologue to the 'Canterbury Tales' to perceive this. Not quite to the same extent perhaps as in Chaucer, but withal very noticeably to the ear, the lyrical note is frequently to be caught in Spenser, even where he is not obviously offering the reader Lyrical Poetry; as, for instance, in this stanza in the first canto of 'The Faerie Queene,' beginning:

'A little lowly hermitage it was,
Down in a dale, hard by a forest's side.'

This is not Lyrical Poetry proper, as now understood. But Spenser has left us in his 'Epithalamion' a lyrical poem with which only one other English lyric can be placed in competition for the first place. It is too long for more than one brief excerpt to be cited here:

'Wake now, my love, awake! for it is time;
The rosy Morne long since left Tithones bed,
All ready to her silver coche to clyme;
And Phoebus gins to shew his glorious hed.
Hark! how the cheerefull birds do chaunt theyr laies
And carroll of loves praise.
The merry Larke hir mattins sings aloft;
The Thrush replies; the Mavis descant playes;
The Ouzell shrills; the Ruddock warbles soft;
So goodly all agree, with sweet consent,
To this dayes meriment.
Ah! my deere love, why doe ye sleepe thus long,
When meeter were that ye should now awake,
T' awayt the comming of your joyous make,

And hearken to the birds love-learned song,
 The deawy leaves among?
 For they of joy and pleasance to you sing
 That all the woods them answer, and theyr eccho ring.'

One is sorry to think that this long, lovely, and varied lyric is less known than it ought to be to the modern readers of Lyrical Poetry. I can only say to them, 'Make haste to read it.'

In Shakespeare's plays the lyrical note is so often to be heard in the blank verse that the poet's natural aptitude and inclination for singing were amply exercised there; and he gives most voice to it in such plays as 'As You Like It' and 'Romeo and Juliet.' But it recurs again and again throughout his dramas. Such lines as

'All over-canopied with lush woodbine,'
 'How sweet the moonlight sleeps upon this bank,'
 'Under the shade of melancholy boughs,'

are illustrations of what I am pointing out.

Without dwelling on the excellent lyrics written in the reigns of Charles I and Charles II, and confining ourselves to the *di majores* of poetry, we may pass on to Milton, whose 'Allegro' and 'Penseroso,' as likewise the lyrics in 'Comus,' are too familiar to every one to be more than mentioned as evidence of the persistence, in the past as in the present, of the warbling impulse in all poets. Heard but fitfully during the greater part of the eighteenth century, yet most arrestingly in Gray, Collins, and Burns, Lyrical Poetry, from the last onward, without intermission, to our own time, in Scott, Byron, Wordsworth, Keats, Shelley, and Tennyson, is almost the only poetry that has in recent days been much listened to, or much written and talked about. This circumstance is far from being conclusive as to whether, during the same period, poems higher and greater than mere Lyrical Poetry have or have not been produced. But it is absolutely certain that, if produced, they have been, so far, more or less ignored; and that, if the same poets have written such and Lyrical Poetry as well, they will have been considered and estimated by the latter only.

But the domain of feeling and emotion in which Lyrical Poetry has room to display its power and versa-

tility is so extensive that lyrics are very various in their themes and in the treatment of them. Love, religion, patriotism, cosmopolitan benevolence, being, as I have shown in 'The Human Tragedy,' the most elevated and most permanent sources of human sentiment and emotion, there will necessarily be in Lyrical Poetry, even considered by itself, and apart from all the other forms of poetry, a scale of relative elevation and importance.

The love of individuals for each other, whether domestic, romantic, or sexual, is much more common than any of the other three, being practically universal; and it has given birth to so many well-known lyrics that it is unnecessary to cite any of them here. Some of them are very beautiful; but none of them, by reason of the comparative narrowness of their theme, satisfies the essentials of great poetry. Not even Tennyson's 'Maud,' which is perhaps the most ambitious and the best known of long poems dedicated mainly to the subject, though it contains lovely passages, approaches greatness.

Though what is understood as religious sentiment comes next to the love of individuals for each other in the extent of its influence, it has produced much verse, but, it must be allowed, little poetry, the reason probably being that the religious sentiment of the few who are endowed with the gift of writing poetry differs from that of the average 'religious' person. Nor can the fact be overlooked that there is a certain character of reserve in Protestantism which has operated since the Reformation against the growth of religious Lyrical Poetry. For that we must go either to pre-Reformation days, or to the poetry of those who, like George Herbert and the poetic kin of his time, clung to the Roman Catholic creed after the modification of belief and ritual in the Anglican Church; or to the poets in our own time trained in the Roman Catholic faith, and to that extent, and on that ground, debarred from wide popularity among a Protestant people. The De Veres, Faber, Coventry Patmore, and Newman, the last notably in his 'Dream of Gerontius,' may be named as instances of what has been done in recent times in the sphere of religious poetry. Scott's lovely 'Ave Maria' in 'The Lady of the Lake,' and Byron's stanza beginning,

'Ave Maria! 'tis the hour of prayer,'

are briefer specimens of what may be, and has been contributed in later times to religious poetry; much smaller in bulk and volume than poetry dedicated to the love of individuals for each other, but higher in the rising scale of greatness, because of the greater dignity of its theme.

Patriotic Lyrical Poetry need not detain us long. Most patriotic verse, however spirited, is verse only, nothing or little more, though exceptions could be cited, such as Drayton's 'Agincourt,' Tennyson's 'Relief of Lucknow,' and 'The Ballad of the Revenge.' But if in patriotic Lyrical Poetry we include, as I think we should, poetry in the English tongue, but not concerning England or the British Empire, I may name Byron's 'Isles of Greece' in 'Don Juan,' which I had in my mind when I observed that there is in our language only one lyrical poem that can compete for the first place in Lyrical Poetry with Spenser's 'Epithalamion.'

3. Reflective Poetry. Over Reflective Poetry, in itself a stage of advance beyond Descriptive Poetry and Lyrical Poetry in themselves, we need not linger long, for the reason that, though Reflective Poetry is ample in quantity, it is, outside the Drama, very limited in quality, most of it being of so prosaic a character as not only not to be ranked above average Lyrical Poetry, but far below it. Wordsworth furnishes us, for the purpose of illustration, with both kinds, the higher and the lower Reflective Poetry. As regards the latter, I would rather let Matthew Arnold, than whom there is no warmer admirer of Wordsworth, be the spokesman:

'The "Excursion" abounds with Philosophy [I prefer to call it Thought or Reflection]; and therefore the "Excursion" is to the Wordsworthian what it never can be to the disinterested lover of poetry, a satisfactory work. "Duty exists," says Wordsworth in the "Excursion"; and then he proceeds thus:

"... Immutably survive,
For our support, the measures and the forms
Which an abstract Intelligence supplies,
Whose kingdom is where time and space are not."

And the Wordsworthian is delighted, and thinks that here is a sweet union of philosophy and poetry. But the disin-

terested lover of poetry will feel that the lines carry us really not a step farther than the proposition which they would interpret; that they are a tissue of elevated but abstract verbiage, alien to the very nature of poetry.'

Merely observing that I wholly agree with the foregoing estimate, I pass to the higher Reflective Poetry, of which Wordsworth has given us such splendid but comparatively brief instances. The 'Lines composed a few miles above Tintern Abbey,' 'Elegiac Stanzas suggested by a Picture of Peele Castle,' his best Sonnets, the 'Character of the Happy Warrior,' the 'Ode to Duty,' and, finally, the 'Ode on Intimations of Immortality,' seem to me to place Wordsworth above all other English Poets in the domain of exclusively Reflective Poetry. I do not forget much noble Reflective Poetry in 'Childe Harold'; but it is too much blent with other elements, and into it the active quality enters too strongly, for its more reflective features to be separated from them. Moreover, it generally falls far short of the intellectual note so strongly marked in Wordsworth's best Reflective Poetry, into which, be it added, both the descriptive and the lyrical notes, in accordance with the general law I am seeking to expound in this paper, enter very largely, if, of course, subordinately. It will be obvious, however, to any dispassionate lover of poetry, that a merely reflective poem of any great length cannot well be entitled to the designation of a great poem. Had such been possible, Wordsworth would have bequeathed it to us. 'The Excursion' is the answer; which, notwithstanding a certain number of fine passages, is, for the most part, what Matthew Arnold says of it, 'doctrine such as we hear in church, religious and philosophical doctrine; and the attached Wordsworthian loves passages of such doctrine, and brings them forward as proofs of his poet's excellence.'

If the reader has followed me so far, with more or less assent, he will be prepared not only to allow, but of himself to feel, that there must be yet another kind or order of poetry, in which the greatest poems are to be found, poems that are neither exclusively nor mainly either descriptive, lyrical, or reflective, but into which all three elements enter subordinately, though none of them gives it its distinctive and supreme character.

4. Epic and Dramatic Poetry. That supreme kind

of poetry is Epic and Dramatic Poetry, though there may be very poor Epics, and Dramas in which true poetry is scarcely to be observed, just as we have seen that there is very inferior Descriptive, Lyrical, and Reflective Poetry. All that is asserted is that great epic and dramatic poems must be greater than the greatest poetry of the preceding kinds by reason of their wider range and (as a rule) the higher majesty of their theme, and of their including every other kind of poetry.

It will perhaps have been noticed that Epic and Dramatic Poetry are here placed in conjunction, not separately; and their being thus conjoined needs a word of explanation. Though there is a radical distinction between the two, this provisional union of them has been adopted in order to afford an opportunity of pointing out what I think is generally ignored—that poems which are essentially epical, or merely narrative, may be written in dialogue or dramatic form, and so mislead incautious readers into inferring that they are offered as dramas, in the acting sense of the term. It is because, while remaining substantially epical or narrative in character they may contain, here and there, dramatic situations, dramatic rhetoric, and dramatic converse. The *'Iliad'* is a conspicuous example of this; the movement in the earlier portion of it being full of debate and defiance among its characters, and these dramatic elements recurring, if less frequently, throughout the entire work. To many persons the episodes in the narrative of the *'Divina Commedia'* that give rise to converse, whether tender, terrible, or pathetic, are the most delightful portions of it. What is it that makes the first six books of *'Paradise Lost'* so much more telling than the later ones? Surely it is the magnificence of the speeches emanating from the mouths of the chief characters. *'Childe Harold'* is ostensibly only descriptive, reflective, and narrative; but the personality and supposed wrongs of Byron himself, so frequently introduced, confer on it, beyond these characters, certain features of the drama and of dramatic action. Moreover, the magnificent ruins bequeathed to the seven-hilled city by the fall of the Roman Empire enter so largely into the fourth canto that this includes in it every species of verse, from the descriptive to the dramatic. To cite a much smaller example, I once said to Tennyson,

'Do you not think that, had one met in a tragedy with the couplet from Pope (Ep. to the Sat. ii, 205),

F. You're strangely proud . . .

P. Yes, I am proud : I must be proud to see
Men not afraid of God, afraid of *me*;

one would be right in regarding it as very fine, dramatically?' and he replied, 'Yes, certainly.' I recall the circumstance because it is an extreme illustration of the momentary intrusion of one style into another.

By slow but successive stages we have reached conclusions that may be thus briefly stated. (1) The essentials of great poetry are not to be found in poetry exclusively descriptive. (2) They are rarely to be met with in poetry that is lyrical, and then only when reflection of a high order, as in Wordsworth's 'Intimations of Immortality,' or what is equivalent to action operating on a great theme, as in Byron's 'Isles of Greece,' largely and conspicuously enters into these. (3) That they are to be met with in Reflective Poetry of the very highest character, but never throughout an exclusively reflective poem of any length. (4) That they are chiefly to be sought for and most frequently found in either epic or dramatic poetry where description, emotion, thought, and action all cooperate to produce the result; that result being, to adduce supreme examples, the 'Iliad,' 'Paradise Lost,' the 'Divina Commedia,' the third and fourth cantos of 'Childe Harold,' 'Hamlet,' 'King Lear,' 'Macbeth.'

Many years ago, in a couple of papers published in the 'Contemporary Review' on 'New and Old Canons of Poetic Criticism,' I propounded as the most satisfactory definition of poetry generally, that it is 'the transfiguration, in musical verse, of the Real into the Ideal'; and I have more than once advocated the definition. The definition applies to poetry of all kinds. But, while this is so, the transfiguration must operate on a great theme greatly treated, either lyrically, reflectively, epically, or dramatically, in order to produce great poetry.

I fancy I hear some people saying, 'Quite so; who ever denied or doubted it?' The answer must be that, for some time past, it has been tacitly, and often explicitly, denied by critics and readers alike; reviewers

to-day criticising poetry in utter disregard and contravention of any such canons, and readers in their conversation and practice following suit, apparently without any knowledge or suspicion that such canons exist. Had it been otherwise, an enquiry into the essentials of great poetry would have been unnecessary.

The permanent passions of mankind—love, religion, patriotism, humanitarianism, hate, revenge, ambition; the conflict between free will and fate; the rise and fall of empires—these are all great themes, and, if greatly treated, and in accordance with the essentials applicable to all poetry, may produce poetry of the loftiest kind; the underlying reason being what, as usual, has been better and more convincingly stated by Shakespeare than by any one else:

‘We [actors on the stage] are not all alone unhappy:
This wide and universal theatre
Presents more woeful pageants than the scene
Wherein we play.’

For the great treatment of great themes in Epic, and yet more in Dramatic, Poetry, think of what is required! Not mere fancy, not mere emotion, but a wide and lofty imagination, a full and flexible style, a copious and ready vocabulary, an ear for verbal melody and all its cadences, profound knowledge of men, women, and things in general, a congenital and cultivated sense of form—the foundation of beauty and majesty alike, in all art; an experience of all the passions, yet the attainment to a certain majestic freedom from servitude to these; the descriptive, lyrical, and reflective capacity; abundance and variety of illustration; a strong apprehension and grasp of the Real, with the impulse and power to transfigure it into the Ideal, so that the Ideal shall seem to the reader to be the Real; in a word, ‘blood and judgment,’ as Shakespeare says, ‘so commingled.’ These are the qualifications of the writers that have stirred, and still stir, in its worthier portion, the admiration, reverence, and gratitude of mankind.

Even this does not exhaust the requisite endowments of those who aspire to write great poetry. Their sympathy with all that is demands from them a fund of practical good sense, too often lacking in merely lyrical

poets—a circumstance that may render their work less attractive to the average person, and even make it seem to such to be wanting in genius altogether. Sane they must essentially be; and their native sanity must have been fortified by some share in practical affairs, while their robustness of mind must have received aid from the open air. They will be found to be neither extravagant optimists nor extravagant pessimists, but wise teachers and indulgent moralists; neither teaching nor preaching overmuch in their verse, but unintentionally and almost unconsciously communicating their wisdom to others by radiation. Dante always speaks of Virgil as 'Il Saggio.' Tennyson puts it well where he says of the poet, 'He saw through good, through ill; He saw through his own soul.' Architecture, sculpture, music, the kindred of his own art, must be appreciated by him; and nothing that affects mankind is alien to him.

I should like to say, incidentally, and I hope I may do so without giving offence, that I have sometimes thought that, in an age much given to theorising and to considering itself more 'scientific' than perhaps it really is, the diminution of practical wisdom, somewhat conspicuous of late in politics and legislation, is due in no small measure to the neglect of the higher poetry, in favour, where concern for poetry survives at all, of brief snatches of lyrical emotion. Hence legislation by emotion and haste.

If we ask ourselves, as it is but natural to do, what are the chief causes that have brought about this change in public taste and sentiment, I believe they will be found to be mainly as follow. (1) The decay of authority already mentioned. (2) The perpetual reading of novels of every kind, many of them of a pernicious nature, but nearly all of them calculated to indispose readers to care for any poetry save of an emotional lyrical character. (3) The increase—be it said with all due chivalry—of feminine influence and activity alike in society and literature; women, generally speaking, showing but a moderate interest in great issues in public life, and finding their satisfaction, so far as reading is concerned, in prose romances, newspapers, and short lyrics. (4) The febrile quality of contemporaneous existence; the ephemeral excitements of the passing hour; and the wholesale surrender to the transient as contrasted

with the permanent, great poetry concerning itself only with this last—a circumstance that makes the *Odyssey*, for instance, as fresh to-day as though it had been published for the first time last autumn; whereas the life of most prose romances, like the lady's scanty attire, 'commence à peine, et finit tout de suite.'

I hope no one will imagine—for they would be mistaken in doing so—that these pages have been prompted by a disposition to depreciate the age in which we are living, and just as little to manifest disdain of it, though one need not conceal the opinion, in respect of the lower literary taste so widely prevalent, that, as Shakespeare says, 'it is not and it cannot be for good.' My object has been something very different from this. It has been to recall canons of poetry and standards of literary excellence which I believe can never be destroyed though for a time they may be obscured, and which have of late been too much ignored. That such neglect will in the very faintest degree prevent those whose instinct it is to say, with Virgil, '*paulo majora canamus*,' from following their vocation, without a thought of readers or reviewers, I do not suppose. It is good for poets, and indeed for others, not to be too quickly appreciated. It is dangerous for them, and sometimes fatal, to be praised prematurely.

The great stumbling-block of literary criticism, alike for the professional critic and the unprofessional reader is the tacit assumption that the opinions, preferences, and estimates of to-day are not merely passing opinions, preferences, and estimates, but will be permanent ones; opinions, preferences, and estimates for all future time. There is no foundation, save self-complacency, for such a surmise. What solid reason is there to suppose that the present age is any more infallible in its literary judgments than preceding ages? On the contrary, its infallibility is all the less probable because of the precipitation with which its opinions are arrived at. Yet past ages have been proved over and over again, in course of time, to be wrong in their estimate of contemporaneous poetry, in consequence of their mistaking the passing for the permanent. The consequence in our time of this error has been that one has seen the passing away of several works loudly declared on their appear-

ance to be immortal. The only chance a critic has of being right in his judgments is to measure contemporary literature by standards and canons upon which rests the fame of the great poets and writers of the past, and, tried by which, Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, and Byron have been assigned their enduring rank in the poetic hierarchy. 'Blessings be with them,' says Wordsworth (Sonnet xxv):

'Blessings be with them, and eternal praise,
Who gave us nobler lives and nobler cares,
The Poets who on earth have made us heirs
Of truth and pure delight by heavenly lays.'

It is only the great poets, the poets in whom we can recognise the essentials of greatness, who can do that for us. They are not rebels, as are too many lyrical poets, but reconcilers; and they offer to external things and current ideas both receptivity and resistance, being not merely of an age, but for all time. It is their thoughts and the verse in which their thoughts are embodied that are enduringly memorable. For great poetry, as Wordsworth teaches us in a single line, is not mere emotion, not mere subtle or sensuous singing, but

'Reason in her most exalted mood.'

A still greater authority than Wordsworth, no other than Milton, has immortalised in verse the principles for which I have ventured to contend in prose. In 'Paradise Regained' (iv, 255-266) he says:

'There thou shalt hear and learn the secret power
Of harmony, in tones and numbers hit
By voice or hand, and various-measured verse,
Æolian charms and Dorian lyric odes,
And his who gave them breath but higher sung,
Blind Melesigenes, thence Homer called,
Whose poem Phœbus challenged for his own;
Thence what the lofty grave tragedians taught
In Chorus or Iambick, teachers best
Of moral prudence, with delight receiv'd,
In brief sententious precepts, while they treat
Of fate, and chance, and change in human life,
High actions and high passions best describing.'

ALFRED AUSTIN.

Art. 6.—THE REMAINS OF ANCIENT PAINTING. ✓

1. *Denkmäler der Malerei des Altertums*. Edited by Paul Herrmann. Munich: Bruckmann. (In progress.)
2. *Le Nozze Aldobrandine, i paesaggi con scene dell' Odissea e le altre pitture murali antiche conservate nella Biblioteca Vaticana e nei Musei Pontifici*. With an introduction by Dr Bartolommeo Nogara. Milan: Hoepli, 1907.
3. *Le Pitture delle Catacombe romane*. Illustrated by Giuseppe Wilpert. Rome: Spithoever, 1903.
4. *Untersuchungen über die campanische Wandmalerei*. By Wolfgang Helbig. Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1873.

And other works.

THAT the spade of the excavator, which has restored to us the Hermes of Praxiteles and other priceless relics of ancient sculpture, will yet bring to light the authentic masterpieces of Zeuxis or Apelles, we are forbidden to hope. The perishable materials of which they were formed have long since been consumed by the envious tooth of time. The north-western half of the Propylæa on the Acropolis of Athens, once adorned with frescoes by Polygnotus and other masters of fifth century painting, is now only a gutted chamber of bare marble; the porticoes and temples of Imperial Rome, for whose enrichment the Hellenic world was despoiled of its treasures, have perished in the wreck of ancient civilisation. Even the copies of classical *chefs-d'œuvre*, whether executed for public galleries, such as that formed by the Pergamene kings, or for wealthy Roman connoisseurs, have met with a harder fate than the marble works by whose reflected light we are able to discern something of the glories of Hellenic sculpture. We cannot therefore look forward to the time when the great painters of antiquity, upon whom their admirers lavished a meed of praise no less generous than that accorded to Phidias or Praxiteles, will once more stand before our eyes in their artistic individuality.

Nevertheless, ancient painting has not wholly perished. The buried cities of Campania have yielded up many hundreds of frescoes which, however we may solve the problem of their relation to higher forms of art, at least

unlock the key to many secrets of ancient technique; and the 'encaustic' process, so long counted amongst the lost arts, may now be studied in original examples, thanks to the discoveries made in the cemeteries of the Fayum. It is now thirty-six years since Helbig, in the work mentioned at the head of this article, endeavoured to appraise the true significance of the Campanian wall-paintings in the development of ancient art; and his book, though of inestimable value to the student of Hellenistic civilisation, which has never since been portrayed in such vivid colours, no longer claims for its main thesis the unquestioning adherence of scholars. The time is approaching when a fresh synthesis of our knowledge with regard to the painting of the ancients must be attempted; and we therefore extend a cordial welcome to those publications which, even for the most travelled archæologist, must supplement personal observation, while they make it possible for a host of students, who are debarred from examining the originals, to contribute in their measure to the progress of archæological science.

Foremost amongst these stands the great series of reproductions which the firm of Bruckmann have been encouraged to issue by the success of their 'Monuments of Greek and Roman Sculpture.' We are promised as many as six hundred plates, the subjects of which will not be confined to painting alone, but will include the finest examples of the sister-art of mosaic. A few, but only a few, of these will be executed in colour; for the remainder various photographic processes will be used. So far as can be judged from the specimens which have hitherto appeared, this work will furnish an adequate basis for the criticism of the originals, so far as style is concerned. Some technical details of no small importance, such as the clearly marked brushwork which distinguishes ancient from modern fresco-painting, have been robbed of their due emphasis by a process of toning-down. Again, the small but priceless collection of ancient paintings preserved in the Vatican Library, which includes the 'Aldobrandini Marriage,' the Odyssey landscapes of the Esquiline, and the 'Heroines of Tor Marancia,' has been reproduced in a fine series of plates issued by Messrs Hoepli, with a valuable account of all that can be known as to the history of the originals from the pen of Dr Nogara. The

three-colour plates are indeed not wholly successful, since, in some cases, the primary colour-prints have not been accurately superposed; but they are supplemented by adequate photographic reproductions. For early Christian painting we have the admirably illustrated and monumental work of Mgr Wilpert; and it is no secret that he will in due time give us the results of his researches into the later development, both of painting and mosaic, in the centuries which bridge the transition from the ancient to the medieval world. Mgr Wilpert is content with nothing short of the best that science can devise in the matter of reproduction. The water-colour drawings upon which Messrs Richter and Taylor's illustrations of the mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore were based seem to him to leave too much scope for the intrusion of the draughtsman's personality; and we are to have a series of plates in which colour is applied on a photographic foundation.

To trace, even in its outlines, the history of Greco-Roman painting is a task too great to be attempted within the limits of this article; yet some brief account must be given of its earlier phases, in order that an answer may be made to the question of the relation which the paintings of Rome and Pompeii bear to its highest development. It is unnecessary to dwell on the fact that the Greeks, although their artistic sense was pre-eminently plastic, were no parties to that divorce between form and colour which the practice of modern sculptors has established. Architecture, decorative relief, and statuary were alike richly coloured; and, if the monstrous figures of the sixth century pediments found on the Athenian Acropolis betray an almost childish delight in gaudy hues, the delicate tints of the Sidonian sarcophagi at Constantinople reveal a subtle colour-sense in the harmony of their general scheme and the nice calculation of their local contrasts. But, if it be true that the Greek sculptors never aimed at the representation of abstract form, it is not to be denied that the rendering of form through pure colour, in which the art of painting consists, was so far foreign to their native bent that the solution of its principal problems was deferred until those of sculpture had been triumphantly mastered.

In the first place, the scale of colours applied to the enhancement of architectural or sculptural effects was of necessity conventional and limited; exact local colour, as the Greeks instinctively recognised, would be out of place here, and the subtler distinctions of 'value' unmeaning. The painter, therefore, had nothing to learn from the sculptor, but was forced to pursue his own path of discovery. Moreover, in the orderly growth of the Greek genius to full and perfect maturity, the technique of linear drawing was mastered before the infinite possibilities of colouring were divined. It is here that the study of Attic vase-painting helps us to trace the earlier stages of progress in Greek painting, or, to speak more accurately, of Greek draughtsmanship. Exquisite feeling for beauty of outline, and a firmness and security of touch which has never been surpassed, are the qualities which place the masters of the red-figured style in the highest rank attainable by industrial art; and we may be sure that just these same excellences, in a still higher degree, were possessed by Polygnotus, Mikon, Panænus, and the other painters of the fifth century.

Prof. Carl Robert has ingeniously restored the famous frescoes of the Fall of Troy and the Lower World by Polygnotus, seen and described by Pausanias at Delphi, by the use of motives drawn from fifth-century vase-painting;* and there is good reason for thinking that the colour-scheme employed by the painters of this school was of the simplest. Pliny the Elder tells us that 'four colours only—white, yellow, red, and black—were used by Apelles, Aëtion, Melanthius, and Nicomachus in their immortal works.' The saying seems a hard one, since Apelles, if we may trust our ancient authorities, was lacking in none of the resources which painting employs in order to produce naturalistic illusion; and many modern critics have accepted the suggestion of Julius Lange, that Pliny refers to flesh tints only. But the difficulty disappears when we compare with Pliny's statement a passage in the 'Brutus' of Cicero. The orator seeks to illustrate the contrast between the severer style of Cato and the polished diction of his own time by

* Robert's restorations are reproduced in Dr Frazer's 'Pausanias,' vol. v, facing pp. 360, 372.

parallels drawn from the arts. He sums up in a few phrases the transition from the severity of archaic sculpture to the 'perfection' of Polyclitus, and then continues: 'It is the same with the art of painting. Here we praise Zeuxis, Polygnotus, Timanthes, and the rest, who used only four colours, for their mastery of form and outlines; but in Aëtion, Nicomachus, Protogenes, and Apelles, all is perfect.' Cicero is doubtless repeating a well-worn commonplace of criticism; it seems probable, in fact, that the arrangement of orators, sculptors, and painters in parallel series was the work of the Pergamene school of critics; and Pliny, by an egregious but not unexampled blunder, has inverted the true order of names.

Now the limited range of colour indicated by Pliny and Cicero may be aptly illustrated by certain early examples of Greek painting. A votive tablet found on the Acropolis, which represents a warrior charging, and recalls by its style the red-figured vases of the 'severe' style, is painted in four colours only. A yellow slip applied to the terracotta slab forms the background; and brown, red, and black are used for the composition. The painted metopes discovered in 1900 amidst the ruins of a sixth century temple at Thermon in Ætolia, likewise have a background of yellow, upon which figure-subjects are painted in black, purple, brown, and white. When we remember the fixity of Greek artistic tradition, it is not hard to believe that this conventional use of colour may have been retained by the great masters of Greek painting in certain types of composition even so late as the fourth century B.C., just as another and no less conventional scheme was applied to the painting of architecture and monumental reliefs.

For the process by which true painting was evolved from coloured drawing, monumental evidence is all but non-existent; and the meagre account given in the thirty-fifth book of Pliny's 'Natural History,' which is little more than a catalogue of artists relieved by worthless anecdotes, betrays only by rare flashes of insight the influence of a school of technical criticism. How the simplicity of painting in monochrome or in washes of pure colour was varied by the distinction of light and shadow; how the modelling of rounded forms was attempted with ever-growing success; how the transition from colour to

colour was effected by a nice calculation of 'values'; how, finally, the artist succeeded in imparting to his picture the warmth and glow of natural illumination—all this was well known to the ancient students whose criticisms are faintly echoed by Pliny. Unfortunately the extant remains of ancient painting aid us but little in our attempt to follow the stages of the process. There have recently been discovered on the site of the ancient Pagasæ in Thessaly a number of painted tombstones which had been used as packing for the foundations of a tower hastily enlarged in the Roman period. They range in date from the fourth to the second century B.C. and reproduce the simple motives with which the Attic grave-reliefs have made us familiar. Their discoverer, Dr Arvanitopoulos, reminds us that the masters of Greek painting did not disdain to decorate such grave-monuments. Pausanias describes a tomb near Triteia, in Achaia, which contained paintings by Nikias, one of the chief painters in encaustic of the fourth century. A woman seated on an ivory chair, attended by a maid bearing a parasol; a young man standing beside her, wearing a tunic and purple *himation*; a servant with javelins, leading hunting dogs—these are just such motives as the Thessalian *stelai* present. Nevertheless it is impossible to regard these monuments as anything more than the works of ordinary craftsmen unversed in the subtleties of technique. The contours of the figures are sketched in brown; and, though there is some use of shading, the modelling is perfunctory. Probably painting was employed as a cheaper substitute for sculpture in relief.

The works of Greek artists brought by the Romans to Italy were often executed on slabs of marble, which were let into the walls of public or private buildings. Augustus, for example, thus adorned the walls of the new Senate-house with two paintings, one of which was signed by Nikias, the other by Philochares. Such slabs have been found both at Herculaneum and at Pompeii; and, though we could scarcely hope to recover from these towns any original works of first-rate importance, it would not be unreasonable to see in them the handiwork of Greek craftsmen. In point of fact the example reproduced on Pl. I bears the signature of 'Alexander the Athenian';



PLATE I.



[Brogi.]

THE KNUCKLEBONE-PLAYERS.
(From Herculaneum : Nat. Museum, Naples.)

[To face p. 435.]

but it has been argued by Robert, whose judgment cannot lightly be set aside, that both the inscription and the painting are careful but somewhat lifeless copies of the original. The group of monuments, numbering six in all, to which it belongs, are often, but wrongly, described as paintings in monochrome. The outlines, it is true, are sketched in red upon the white marble; but there are abundant though somewhat faint traces of the original colouring, which have been carefully reproduced in the plates of Robert's publications. Nevertheless it cannot be denied that they are the works of draughtsmen rather than of painters; and this is especially true of the group here reproduced, which reminds us of the best work of the fifth century vase-painters, and has been attributed to the school of Polygnotus.

In the foreground are two kneeling maidens, Aglaia and Hilæira, intent upon the game of knucklebones; but the interest of the picture lies in the group of standing figures. To the left we see the goddess Leto, whose clouded brow betokens her displeasure, receiving the advances of Niobe, who has evidently been urged by her companion, Phœbe, to seek reconciliation. There is no allusion in the extant remains of ancient literature which casts any light upon this quarrel, for the maidenly figure of Niobe is not that of the haughty queen whose pride involved herself and her children in tragic disaster. But there is a line of Sappho, quoted by Athenæus, which tells us that 'once on a time Leto and Niobe were very dear companions'; and it is a natural inference that what the artist sought to portray was the first cloud of anger which marred the sunshine of that early friendship and presaged the awful doom that was to follow. Such a treatment of the subject is alien to the spirit of fifth century art; and this fact alone should prevent us from assigning too early a date to the original of the picture on the ground of its chastened severity of style.

Of the other paintings on marble preserved in the museum at Naples we cannot here speak in detail; but it should be observed that most of them, as the subjects show, were originally intended, not for the decoration of private houses, but as votive offerings for dedication in public sanctuaries. The armed warrior leaping from a chariot is an *ἀποβάτης*, as we may see by a comparison of

the bas-reliefs dedicated by victorious athletes in the shrine of Amphiaraus at Oropus; the painting of three actors in tragic costume, which is commonly interpreted as an illustration of the 'Hippolytus' of Euripides, doubtless reproduces a votive picture dedicated by a successful *choregus*; and the scene in which the fate of Niobe and her daughters is brought before our eyes may likewise be regarded as an offering commemorating a theatrical contest, since it is well known that in the classical period an idealised representation of dramatic subjects was usually chosen for such a purpose.* This group of paintings thus bears the stamp of an age when the chief end of art was not as yet that of ministering to private luxury.

Is it possible, we may now ask, that the frescoes of Rome and Pompeii may add somewhat to the scanty knowledge of early Greek painting which we have gathered from the works just described? The technique of ancient fresco-painting was so far different from that practised in modern times, that works originally executed in a different process would lose but little of their effect by this method of translation. Vitruvius has preserved for us a minute account of the practice followed in ancient wall-decoration; and its accuracy has been confirmed by the observation of extant frescoes as well as by modern experiment. He prescribes the use of no less than six coats of plaster, the first three roughly rendered in cement made with sand and lime, the last three of marble pounded with increasing fineness; and each of these coats was carefully levelled and dried before the next was applied. The last, when it had received the tone required for the background of the painting, was highly polished; and the picture was then executed in colours mixed with lime and thickly laid on, so thickly in fact that, as a cursory examination of the walls of Pompeian houses will show, the figures often seem to stand out in relief from the polished background.

The result of this elaborate process was that there was little difference in effect between painting in fresco and the other technical methods known to the ancients,

* The well-known bas-reliefs, consisting of three figures, of which the most famous is the 'Parting of Orpheus and Eurydice' in the Villa Albani, seem to have been votive offerings set up by successful *choregi*.

whether tempera, for which the usual medium was fig-sap mingled with the yolk of an egg, or encaustic, in which the pigments were mixed with melted wax. The modern fresco-painter finds his chief hindrance in the rapid drying of the plaster, which compels him to paint against time and to cover with finished work so much of the surface to be decorated as suffices for a day's labour; for retouching can only be done in tempera, unless the artist be willing to sacrifice the labour which he has spent and to renew the plaster. These difficulties existed in a far less degree for the ancient fresco-painter, who could work for several days in succession on the field prepared for decoration, laying on his pigments in very much the same manner as the artist who employed a medium of greater consistency. There has recently been published an interesting account of the experimental process by which Böcklin was led to rediscover some of the secrets of this lost technique; and there can be no doubt that much may yet be learnt by modern painters from the study of ancient wall-paintings.

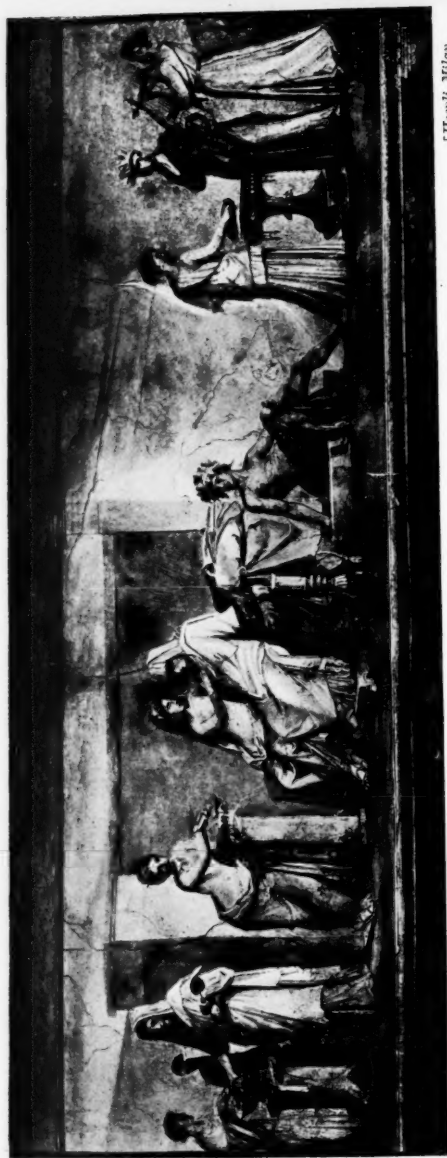
Bearing in mind what has just been said, we might well hope to find in the existing frescoes of Rome and Pompeii some which would give us a rendering, not altogether inadequate, of the technical qualities of those originals which, in the schools of academic criticism and connoisseurship, were exalted as models of classical perfection. If, however, we approach the extant wall-paintings in the hope of finding materials for the history of ancient painting in its earlier developments, we shall be sorely disappointed. There is but a handful of subjects to which we can point as illustrating the art of pre-Alexandrian times. In the house discovered on the edge of the Tiber in the grounds of the Villa Farnesina, some walls are adorned with imitations of framed pictures with a white background, perhaps intended to represent marble. The subjects are simple—for example, a woman seated and playing on the lyre, with an attendant standing before her—and the severity of treatment, recalling that of the Attic grave-reliefs, points to early originals. Like the painting of the knucklebone-players, these works are the product of a time when line rather than colour was the artist's vehicle of expression; but they have none of the grace of the Herculaneum marble, and are

chiefly of interest as indicating the taste of the Roman connoisseur. Superior to these in execution is a group of frescoes from Herculaneum, preserved in the museum at Naples, one of which represents the adornment of a bride, while others depict scenes from the drama and may be classed with the votive paintings mentioned above. But neither these nor any other of the frescoes discovered in Campania can be regarded as direct copies of the masterpieces of early Greek art.

It was once believed (for example, by Helbig) that a painting of the sacrifice of Iphigenia, found in the house of the poet at Pompeii, reproduced a famous work by Timanthes, a contemporary of Zeuxis, who lived towards the close of the fifth century B.C.; and even in the latest handbook of the Naples Museum it is suggested that the influence of the Greek artist may be traced in the composition, even though some figures may have been added by the Pompeian wall-painter. Such a view cannot, however, be upheld. It has nothing in its favour but the bare fact that Agamemnon is represented with veiled and averted countenance—a motive which Pliny ascribes to Timanthes, but which no doubt became traditional in the ancient schools of painting. It has recently been observed that the spirit and perhaps the composition of Timanthes' masterpiece are more faithfully preserved in the bas-reliefs of the altar in the Uffizi signed by the neo-Attic sculptor Cleomenes. Here we seem to breathe the atmosphere of the fifth century B.C. The veiled figure of Agamemnon is not wanting; and the central group of figures—Calchas, Iphigenia, and the youth who leads her to sacrifice—is composed with all the dignity and reserve of the 'Parting of Orpheus and Eurydice,' to which reference has already been made. The Pompeian painting, which shows Iphigenia half nude, borne in the arms of two attendants and uplifting her arms in mute appeal to her heavenly protector, Artemis, who appears in the clouds, is conceived in the sensuous and melodramatic spirit of the late Alexandrian age.

Once again, it is held by many scholars that in the so-called 'Aldobrandini Marriage,' reproduced in Plate II, we have a direct copy of a composition belonging to the classical period of Greek painting. This fresco, which once decorated the upper portion of a wall in a private





THE ALDOBRANDINI MARRIAGE.
(From Nogarà, *Le Nozze Aldobrandine*, etc.)

[Hoepf, Milan.]

house on the Esquiline, was discovered towards the close of the pontificate of Clement VIII, and became the property of Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, the Pope's nephew, in whose villa on the slope of the Quirinal * it remained until the beginning of the nineteenth century, when it was sold to Pius VII and found a place amongst the treasures of the Vatican Library. Within a few years of its discovery it was sketched by Van Dyck during his early visit to Rome, and attracted the lively interest and admiration of Rubens; and until the present time it has been regarded, even by those whose trained eye recognised its faulty execution, as a composition whose simplicity and grace were only to be explained by the assumption that its prototype was the work of a master-hand. The only question which has been disputed in recent times concerns the date of the supposed original. Although the absence of individual characterisation makes it impossible for a modern archæologist to argue that it reproduces the famous painting in which Aëtion portrayed the marriage of Alexander with Roxana, it has been ascribed to that period and pronounced 'not unworthy of Apelles.' The severity of its composition, resembling that of a bas-relief rather than a painting, has led more than one scholar to place it in the pre-Alexandrine period, while others have assigned it to the Hellenistic age.

In my opinion it is very doubtful whether any of these theories can survive the test of a sane and stringent criticism. We must not allow the facility of the Roman decorator, who found ready to his hand in the immortal types handed down by artistic tradition an inexhaustible fount of inspiration, to cheat us into the belief that a composition whose superficial charm may delight the eye of the spectator, but cannot satisfy the student who seeks the key to its meaning, is derived from a classical source. Let us first consider the significance of the picture. That a nuptial scene is represented is of course beyond doubt, for the veiled figure of a bride forms the centre of the composition. But here all certainty ends. That the marriage is one of those famous in history or

* The 'Loggetta' in which the picture was formerly housed, together with the palms and pines which crown its terrace, forms one of the last and most imposing relics of the Papal villas.

mythology it is impossible to maintain; not a single touch gives individuality to the figures. Nor is it certain whether the scene is merely typical of a private ceremony in which the actors are all human, or whether the presence of divinity raises the mortal marriage into an ideal atmosphere. Until recent years the figure of a youth seated upon the threshold within which the bride is seen in converse with a myrtle-crowned companion was interpreted as that of the bridegroom. If this view be accepted, there is no difficulty in divining the motive of the central group; the *νυμφεύτρια* (or, if the Roman term be preferred, the *pronuba*), whose duty it was to conduct the bride to the nuptial chamber, is preparing her mind with kindly words for the supreme moment of her life.

A new explanation of the scene has been proposed by Robert, which has much to commend it. According to this view, we do not see the bride in the nuptial chamber, but in her parent's house. The figure seated expectant on the threshold is that of the god Hymenæus, who is about to lead her to her new home; it is the goddess of Love herself to whose winning words she is about to yield; and the group is completed by one of the Graces, who is pouring out the fragrant essence for the anointing of the bride. So far as the central group is concerned, the interpretation is simple and satisfying; but it does little to diminish, if it does not increase, the difficulties which meet us when we examine the subsidiary figures. To the right, no doubt, we see the preparation for the bridal procession; the strains of the *epithalamium* are about to sound; and one of the bride's companions is in the act of pouring a libation. The group on the left of this picture is by no means so easy to interpret. It seems most probable that the principal figure is the bride's mother, and that she is engaged with her hand-maidens in preparing either the bridal bath or perhaps some simpler means of purification; but the details are far from clear, and it was evidently the first intention of the artist to give symmetry to his composition,* which seems on a close examination to be a *pasticcio* formed of

* It is worthy of note that the colour-scheme of the subsidiary groups is identical, the three figures being in either case draped in yellow, purple, and white. Here, too, the symmetry is clearly intentional.

current types. It has been noted that the group of Aphrodite and the bride is reproduced in a terracotta of the third century B.C. found at Myrina in Asia Minor and now in the British Museum; and the figure leaning on a pillar is a well-known statuary type, found in many modifications, which (we cannot help suspecting) was introduced by the artist in order to fill a gap.

That compositions of this kind were in vogue amongst the Roman wall-painters is proved by the remains of the decorated ceilings belonging to the Golden House of Nero, now destroyed, but familiar to students of the drawings and engravings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The finest of these ceilings was that of the 'Volta dorata,' a domed chamber discovered in the fifteenth century, and drawn, while its paintings and stuccoes were still fresh, by Francesco d'Olanda and other artists. We cannot fail to recognise in these the work of the Roman painter Fabullus, of whom Pliny writes that 'the Golden House was the prison of his art'; and its brilliantly gilded stuccoes, framing paintings on backgrounds of red and blue, represent for us the highest achievement of Roman decorative skill. Now it has not escaped the notice of archaeologists that amongst the figure-subjects here employed as ornament there are compositions which recall in scheme and treatment the 'Aldobrandini Marriage.' We find the same balanced grouping of the figures, the same application of the principles of bas-relief to a painted frieze, the same use of statuary types as elements of composition; and it is only fair to conclude that in a certain style of house-decoration these methods were traditional with the artists of the Empire. At the first glance it might seem as though the compositions themselves had been handed down from the days of the classical masters, for the Early Empire was an age of classicism; but, if they are attentively examined, they will always be found to exhibit the faults which, in the 'Aldobrandini Marriage,' betray the hand of the imitator. We therefore cannot accept them as directly representative of pre-Alexandrine art.

The great majority of the wall-paintings which have been discovered in Rome and Campania are very different in style from those which have just been described. They

are the work of decorators who have at their command all the resources of 'illusionist' painting. By illusionism we do not mean the peculiar technique which is more properly termed impressionism. Such methods as those of the modern impressionists were, in fact, employed by a certain school of Pompeian painters. It has been pointed out that amongst the frescoes of Pompeii there are not a few in which the artist, renouncing all effort to render detail, has contrived with a few strokes of the brush to place before our eyes a vivid presentation of reality. In the house of the Vettii is a group of mythological paintings sketched in bright tints upon a black background, one of which may be studied in the coloured reproduction published in Hermann's 'Corpus.' Summary, even coarse, in execution, it is a notable example of the method which discards drawing, and shows us nothing but the 'chunks of colour' which, according to an eminent exponent of the theory of impressionism, are the elements with which the eye of the beholder constructs a picture of reality.

Mrs Strong, commenting on a text of Pliny,* has observed that some of the principal examples of this manner point to the influence of Egypt, in other words, of Alexandria, by reason of the subjects which they represent, such as the ceremony of evening worship before the temple of Isis; and she has argued that, when Petronius laments that the invention of 'a short cut to high art' by the Egyptians has brought about the downfall of painting, he has in mind this 'impressionist' movement. It is however more likely that Petronius refers only to the practice of fresco decoration as we see it in Imperial Italy, which substituted the work of the handicraftsman for that of the artist in tempera or encaustic.

It is not of such *tours de force* as the paintings above described that we speak in calling the Campanian frescoes 'illusionistic.' Rather do we mean that the Pompeian artists knew how to give to their pictures that depth and atmosphere the creation of which is the proper triumph of the painter. They spared no effort to grapple with the problems of perspective, both linear and aerial; and, though they were but partially successful in solving them,

* 'The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art,' p. 238.

and never freed themselves from certain conventions such as the use of a high horizon in landscape backgrounds, their achievement is indeed remarkable when we consider the imperfection of their optical theory. They were profound students of colouring; the manifold and elusive transformations wrought by the play of light on local tints is triumphantly rendered in their best work. In a word, it is incontestable that nothing but the decay of ancient science and the destruction of ancient civilisation prevented ancient painting from rising to the height of technical mastery which it was reserved for the masters of the Renaissance to attain.

Here we approach the question which it is all-important to answer if we are to assign to the Pompeian wall-paintings their due place in the history of ancient art. Are they the product of a living school, inspired by contact with reality, even when their subjects are taken from a conventional mythology; or must we see in them the copies of original works belonging to the Hellenistic period, reproduced by a cheap process for the adornment of Roman dwellings? Until quite recently it was generally agreed that the latter answer is correct. Expounded with learning and lucidity by Helbig in his 'Untersuchungen über die campanische Wandmalerei,' the theory that Pompeii and Herculaneum revealed to us, not the art of their own times, but that of the great Hellenistic monarchies, was accepted almost without question by archæologists. Helbig had no difficulty in proving that the style of the ideal or mythological wall-paintings was very different from that of the scenes drawn from contemporary life; that the technical interest of the artists was concentrated on the more advanced problems of lighting, etc., which seem to have been first solved by Hellenistic painters; and that the myths which formed the staple of the wall-painter's *répertoire* were those which the literature of Alexandria had brought into currency.

But, though all this be granted, the proof of Helbig's thesis is still to seek. That in art, as in literature, Rome was content to borrow from the ample store of conquered Hellas, is no more than we might with reason expect; the golden age of wall-painting coincides with that in

which, by the unremitting labour of a generation of poets, the Alexandrian epic and elegy were echoed in a tongue framed for sterner utterances. As for the technique of the paintings, we shall do well to consider it in connexion with the general scheme of decoration in which they play so conspicuous a part. Here, indeed, the study of Hellenistic society will help us not a little. Amongst the features which give to the life of the centuries succeeding the death of Alexander their curiously modern flavour, one of the most striking is the yearning for wild nature and the charms of country life engendered in the glare and bustle of crowded cities. To this keen desire we owe the *Idylls* of Theocritus and the *Epigrams* of Leonidas; and it were strange indeed if we could not trace the same sentiment in the art of the time. If we could accept without reserve the famous hypothesis of Schreiber, to which reference was made in the 'Quarterly Review' of 1906 (No. 406, p. 128), we should find what we seek in the pictorial bas-reliefs, notably those from the Palazzo Grimani, now in the Imperial collection at Vienna, which seem like genre-paintings translated into marble. But it has yet to be proved that these are earlier in date than the Augustan age; and the great majority of the works of this class certainly belong to an even later period.

Nevertheless the fragments of a frieze found at Pergamon, upon which the fortunes of Telephus are depicted in a cycle of compositions, afford sufficient proof that the sculptors of the Hellenistic age, pressing forward to the conquest of hitherto untrodden realms, introduced the element of landscape into their compositions in harmony with the spirit of their time. As for painting, the frescoes of Rome and Pompeii furnish abundant evidence that landscape was an object of keen and passionate study to the Hellenistic artists. We might almost be tempted to think that it was the predominant interest in the painting of the centuries preceding the establishment of Roman supremacy, so great is the number of the compositions in which the figure-subject is clearly subordinate to the background. But here we must pause to consider the ends which the wall-paintings from which our knowledge is derived were intended to serve. The town-dwellers of the Hellenistic period esteemed no luxury so highly as the park or garden which alone made city-life

tolerable; and the Romans who created in the villa a type of dwelling calculated, as no other has ever been, to blend in one the delights of town and country, only carried the same principle to a higher degree of refinement. But they did more than this, for they called in the art of the painter to surround them with an illusion of natural landscape, wild or trim, even in their urban dwellings.

The study of Pompeian houses enables us to trace the history of this form of decoration. In the course of the first century B.C. the style of wall-painting which imitated slabs of variegated marble gave place to that which is called 'architectural,' since its general scheme is one of walls and porticoes painted in perspective, which conjure up the illusion of a colonnaded chamber with a free outlook on surrounding space. In the simplest form of this decoration we may find perhaps only a range of painted columns linked by festoons of fruit, flowers, and foliage; or the artist will introduce, behind the fancied colonnade, a low wall beyond which temples and porticoes stretch out into the distant background. Sometimes again a street scene will complete the illusion of open space. But what the Romans loved to see was a garden filled with flowers and birds, or, it might be, a grotto with overhanging rocks sheltering a shrine sacred to nymph or muse. In the villa of the Empress Livia at Prima Porta is a room thus decorated in the semblance of a park; and traces of a similar chamber may be seen in the remains of a house destroyed in order to make room for the cloister of the Vestals in Rome—perhaps the *domus publica*, or official residence of the Pontifex Maximus. In the Hellenistic period the houses of the wealthy contained saloons with wide windows on three sides, which gave their owners a free outlook on surrounding nature; it would seem that these had their origin in Asia Minor, for the Romans knew them by the name of 'Cyzicene saloons.' In country villas such as those of the younger Pliny such rooms were often built by Roman architects; when space forbade this, the painter's brush could fling open windows and charm the eye with limitless landscapes.

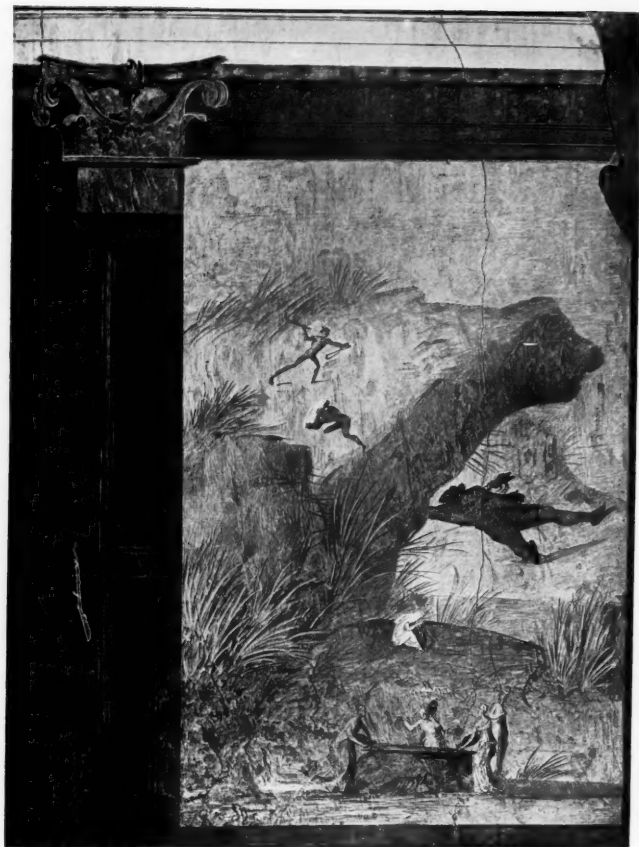
The Roman palace, again, might have its 'Egyptian saloon,' the plan of which, as the name shows, was clearly derived from Alexandria. This was divided into a nave

and aisles by ranges of columns, and lighted by a clerestory; in a word, it was the prototype of the basilica. Here too the Roman decorator found a suggestion which he was not slow to develop. A range of columns or pilasters painted on either side of the room to be decorated, a low wall behind the colonnade, and a clerestory filled with a continuous landscape, completed the illusion. And here we are fortunately able to combine literary evidence with that of ancient remains. Vitruvius tells us that walls were often decorated with cycles of mythological painting, as the war of Troy or the wanderings of Ulysses 'through landscapes'; and the meaning of his words is brought clearly before our eyes by a series of pictures discovered on the Esquiline in 1840 and now preserved in the Vatican Library. These paintings formed a continuous frieze divided by pilasters at a considerable height from the ground. The spectator was invited to believe that he looked out over a wall some twelve feet high towards wide tracts of land and sea, upon which the story of Ulysses was unfolded in a series of dramatic episodes. In order to heighten the illusion, the pilasters which represent the colonnade of the supposed clerestory are painted in perspective; the eye is thus led to fix on the panel where Ulysses is seen in the palace of Circe as the central point in the landscape.

The scene reproduced on Plate III is preserved only in part, having been mutilated in ancient times in order to throw open a window or doorway. Together with that which precedes it, it gives a picture of the lower world and its denizens, inspired by the well-known description in the eleventh book of the *Odyssey*. Our illustration will suffice to show that the landscape is of paramount interest to the artist, who has merely sketched in the figures of the Danaids, Tityus and the vulture, Sisyphus and Orion,* to fill his foreground according to a prevailing fashion. The adjoining panel, which represents Ulysses amongst the shades, illustrates the fascination which problems of light and shade exercised upon this school of decorators. On the left we see the ship of Ulysses beached in full daylight on a rocky shore;

* The figures are identified by Greek inscriptions painted in white beside them. The hunter must clearly be Orion; but the inscription, though only legible in part, cannot have given him that name.

PLATE III.



Tricromia Danesi.

[Hoepli, Milan.]

ODYSSEY LANDSCAPE FROM THE ESQUILINE.
(From Nogara, *Le Nozze Aldobrandine*, etc.)

[To face p. 446.]



then an archway of rock through which a pale glimmer falls upon the shadow world, and illuminates with its dim radiance the group of ghosts who cluster about the prophet Tiresias in their eagerness to drink the blood which will restore them to a semblance of life and vigour.

I am not concerned to deny that in other cycles of mythological painting a more prominent place may have been given to the human or divine figures; this was so, if the drawings made in the eighteenth century are to be trusted, in the chamber—possibly belonging to the palace of Augustus—discovered below the foundations of the Flavian basilica on the Palatine; but the salient fact remains, that this whole scheme of decoration springs from the desire to cheat the eye with an imagined prospect; and this must be borne in mind when we contemplate those painted panels which seem so like copies in fresco of easel pictures. We often find that in the 'architectural' style of decoration the centre of the wall is occupied by what appears to be a large picture framed in a shrine with pediment and columns. Those who have visited the house of Livia on the Palatine will call to mind a famous example in the painting of Io kept in ward by Argus, upon whom Hermes in turn is keeping watch. What is it that we are here invited to behold? A picture, or a glimpse of reality behind the screen (for it is no more than a screen) which covers part of the wall, leaving an open vista of streets and buildings at either end? The question has been hotly disputed; but, if we are to be guided in giving our answer by what may be called the monumental context, we shall pronounce in favour of the latter alternative.

It has been observed by Petersen that in purely architectural schemes of decoration—such as may best be illustrated from the villa discovered in recent years at Bosco Reale, near Pompeii—a small temple or rustic shrine is often the central object of view; and that, where figure-subjects of a more or less definitely mythological character take the place of mere landscape, they are generally composed with a similar architectural centre. If this be so, it follows that we shall not look for any direct connexion between such paintings and the works of Hellenistic artists; and we shall approach the

later styles, in which there is less direct effort to produce spatial illusion, with no *parti pris* in favour of the theory that the pattern-book of the wall-painter was filled with copies of well-known compositions. Nor are there wanting indications that, whether the artist drew his material from a traditional stock or not, he adapted his subjects with singular ingenuity and care to local conditions. The frescoes of Pompeii have too often been studied as they are now seen on the walls of the Naples Museum, torn from their original surroundings and marshalled like the pictures in a modern gallery. In order to appreciate them at their true worth, we should rather go to the more recently excavated houses, where they have been allowed to remain in the positions assigned to them by the painter. An examination of the *triclinium* of the house of the Vettii reveals the fact that the natural lighting of the room was carefully studied by the artist, who gave to the central painting of each wall an artificial illumination coinciding with that which naturally fell upon it, and selected his subjects in order that this might be turned to the best account. The fact is highly significant, for it shows that the painter's art was not reduced to the mere mechanical reproduction of conventional scenes, but gave scope for invention and freedom of treatment.

Are we then to renounce all hope of finding in the extant remains of ancient painting any trace of the handiwork of the great masters? When we bear in mind the strength of tradition in ancient art and the fixity of types handed down from one generation of craftsmen to another, we shall be slow to answer the question with a bare negative. We have already noticed that the formal motive of the veiling of Agamemnon at the sacrifice of Iphigenia, which we are able to trace to the invention of a fifth century painter, acquired a traditional sanctity. We shall therefore feel no surprise if, amongst the often-repeated types of Pompeian painting, there should prove to be some which belong to the artistic heritage of Greece. The clearest example of such a figure is that of Medea, reproduced on Pl. IV from a painting discovered at Herculaneum. As will presently be shown, there are grounds for supposing that it once formed part of a larger composition; and a similar though not an identical



1.

1. MEDEA.

(From Herrmann-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler der Malerei des Altertums*.)



2.



3.



4.

2-4. PORTRAITS FROM EGYPTIAN COFFINS.

(From *Catalogue général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*.)

[To face p. 448.]



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V
x

figure is found in a Pompeian painting, which also includes the children of the sorceress at play and their *παιδαγωγός*. It has long been recognised that, in spite of the differences in detail, this type of Medea is derived from one of the most famous pictures of antiquity—the 'Medea' of Timomachus of Byzantium, painted for the city of Cyzicus, and bought by Julius Cæsar for the adornment of his temple of Venus Genetrix, together with an 'Ajax,' which was evidently painted as a pendant.

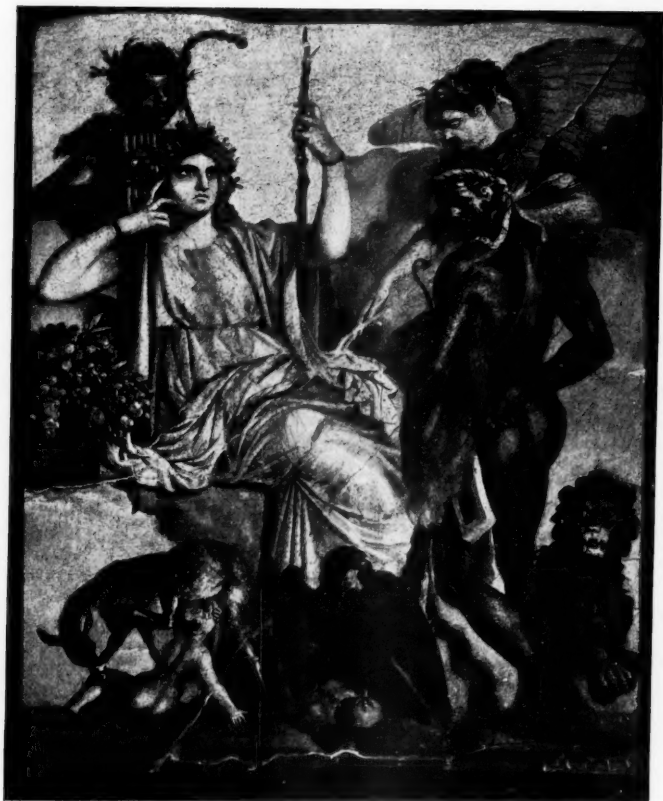
The date of Timomachus is one of the most keenly debated questions of classical archæology. Pliny expressly tells us that the 'Ajax' and the 'Medea' were painted 'in the time of Cæsar the Dictator'; but Cicero, in the fourth speech against Verres, puts to his hearers the question, 'What sum, think you, would compensate the citizens of Cyzicus for the loss of their "Ajax" and "Medea"?' It is hard to believe that these are not the masterpieces of Timomachus; and, if they had attained a celebrity equal to that of the 'Eros' of Praxiteles and the 'Cow' of Myron by the year 70 B.C., when the Verrine orations were written, it could not be said that they were painted 'in the time of Cæsar the Dictator.' Hence many scholars are of opinion that Pliny inferred the date of the painter from that of the purchase, taken in conjunction with the fact that the Medea was unfinished. If this be so, we are free to assign to Timomachus any date which may seem consistent with the style of his work; and it must be confessed that the severity and reserve of the 'Medea'—a 'pictorial soliloquy,' as it has been called by Julius Large—point to the age of the classical painters. Indeed we can scarcely escape from this conclusion save by supposing (with a recent writer) that Timomachus, a contemporary of Cæsar, was an academic painter of the classicistic school whose masterpieces were inspired by earlier originals.

The figure of Ajax, which, as we learn from Ovid, was seated, is preserved to us—as far as the pose and motive are concerned—on a number of gems or pastes of the kind so popular in the Augustan age, when the paintings of Timomachus were amongst the most famous sights of Rome. The hero was seated on a rock, resting his head upon his hand; beside him the bodies of slaughtered cattle told the tale of his madness; and in his counten-

ance was portrayed the dawn of returning sanity, in which the path of honour stood revealed as that of self-destruction. From the gems indeed we can gain no idea of the painter's power of characterisation; but that in motive and treatment the Ajax formed a worthy counterpart of the Medea we may be sure. Since the slain cattle were represented, it is a valid inference that Timomachus painted, or intended to paint, the children of Medea. But the Pompeian wall-painting in which they appear is weak in composition, and the figure of the sorceress lacks harmony with its surroundings; moreover, on the gems which reproduce the painting of Timomachus the grouping of the children varies. It has been shown that the figure of Medea reproduced on our plate is painted on a specially prepared slip of plaster, from which it is concluded that the artist had already executed a background and accessory figures of subsidiary importance; and it is perhaps allowable to conjecture that, in the unfinished original of Timomachus, Medea alone appeared.

It is not unfitting that the statuesque figure of Medea should have been preserved to us as the sole certain example of a painting copied from one of the masterpieces of antiquity, for it illustrates the truth which was first brought to recognition by Julius Lange, that ancient painters were prone to concentrate their attention on the single figure rather than on the composition as a whole. In spite of the success with which Hellenistic art attacked the problems of colouring and illumination, some traces of the union, once so intimate, between plastic and pictorial art remained to the end. As an example of the figure-subjects of Campanian wall-painting we may take the scene reproduced on Plate v. The picture, which was found at Herculaneum, represents Heracles gazing at his child Telephus, suckled by a hind amidst the mountains of Arcadia, personified by the majestic figure of a goddess seated on a rocky pedestal. The accessory figures give to the composition that formal symmetry which ancient art was always prone to pursue; but for dramatic unity we shall seek in vain. The interest of the painter was concentrated on the rendering of the two sculpturesque figures of Heracles and Arcadia, which are linked by no common action, but are

PLATE V.



HERACLES AND TELEPHUS.
(From Herculaneum; Nat. Museum, Naples.)

[Allinari.]

[To face p. 450.]

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treated, each for itself, with the evident intention of turning the conventional contrast between the swarthy hue of the sun-bronzed hero and the pale, white-robed goddess to the utmost pictorial effect. Not only the figures, but even their grouping, is typical.

In the house of the Vettii at Pompeii may be seen a painting of Dædalus and Pasiphaë in which the pose of the principal figures—actors we cannot call them—so closely resembles that of Heracles and Arcadia that, if we were not familiar with the strength of convention in ancient art, we might be tempted to see in both pictures the work of the same artist. It is this conventionality of pose which gives to the paintings of Pompeii that painful monotony for which no dexterity of execution can atone; and it furnishes yet another argument in favour of the belief that the Campanian school of wall-painters worked by skilful adaptation of a limited stock of types rather than by direct copying of earlier compositions. Bearing this in mind, we shall better appreciate the criticisms of Petronius or Pliny on a ‘dying art.’ Technical skill was assuredly not lacking to the artists of the reign of Nero; but, if we look to the significance and content of their work we shall find little to arouse our enthusiasm. The hackneyed themes of an outworn mythology supply the painter with the decorative material which he needs, just as they furnished the poets of the Silver age with the subjects of many an epic and tragedy now buried in decent oblivion. Probably the myths themselves were more familiar to the artists in their Latin dress than in the original setting given to them by Hellenistic poetry; and the lack of creative power inherent in the Pompeian painters may be gauged by the fact that the themes of the national epic of Rome were scarcely represented at all, and then only by a perfunctory adaptation of the conventional types. A painting recently discovered at Pompeii depicts the legend of Rhea Silvia on a landscape background; the main episode is treated according to a well-known scheme used (*inter alia*) for the story of Zephyrus and Chloris; and we can hardly be wrong in assuming that the treatment of the Roman legend was inspired by that of the Greek myth, while the subsidiary figures serve only to destroy the unity of the action.

If the Campanian cities have taught us something of the spirit of ancient painting, the sands of Egypt have given us the key to its most characteristic technique. The encaustic process, which was employed by the great masters of antiquity for their easel pictures, was merely a name to us so long as we derived our knowledge of it from an obscure text of Pliny. It is true that the meaning of his words is still, and is likely to remain, a subject of contention amongst archæologists; true also that the precise nature of the process is not yet clear in all details. But at least we possess, in the portraits which have been recovered from graves in the Fayum—especially from Rubaiyat and Hawara—undoubted examples of encaustic painting. Our ancient authorities make it clear that the medium employed was liquefied wax, and also that (as the word 'encaustic' implies) heat was used at some stage of the process. But it is a matter of dispute whether the wax-pigments were applied in a melted state or were mixed with oil and laid on cold, being afterwards fixed with a hot instrument; and the extant remains of encaustic painting do not suffice to decide this question. We owe their preservation to the fact that in Roman Imperial times a panel-portrait was substituted for the modelled mask which usually decorated Egyptian mummy-cases. Upon the panel, which was sometimes primed with distemper or some resinous medium, the wax pigments were laid on, generally with the brush; but there are clear traces of a blunt point with which the colours were worked up into a finished portrait. Otto Donner von Richter, whose theory of the encaustic process has found the widest acceptance with archæologists, professes to have detected the marks of a serrated instrument on the portraits in the Graf collection at Vienna. He identifies this with the *cestrum* mentioned in the *locus classicus* of Pliny's 'Natural History'; but it seems likely that the wish to confirm a more than doubtful interpretation of Pliny's text was father to this observation. Rightly interpreted, Pliny speaks of the *cestrum* as employed in one kind of encaustic painting alone—that which was executed upon ivory; and there can be no doubt that the brush was freely used by the Egyptian artists.

We should be able to form a clearer conception of the

process if we could be sure of the interpretation to be placed on a wall-painting discovered some years ago in a late Greek tomb at Kertch in the Crimea, the ancient Panticapæum, which has received less attention than it deserves from archæologists. Here we see a painter at work in his studio, on the walls of which hang finished portraits. He is in the act of heating an instrument which is very roughly rendered, but looks like a spoon seen in perspective; and beside him is his colour-box, with compartments for the several pigments. Such a colour-box is described by Varro as part of the stock-in-trade of the encaustic painter; and in a Roman villa discovered in 1842 at St Médard-des-prés, in La Vendée, there was found a set of painter's materials which included a colour-box and metal spoons with pointed handles. These must surely be the *cauteria* mentioned by ancient writers amongst the instruments of the encaustic painter; and their use may be illustrated by the Kertch fresco. If so, it would seem that the coloured wax was melted before application to the panel; and Donner von Richter's theory, according to which it was liquefied by mixture with oil, would lose its credit. On Plate IV three examples of the portraits produced by this process are shown. They cannot, it is true, be ranked very high as works of art, but they are of no small interest, both as realistic portraits which illustrate for us the facial types of Greco-Roman Egypt, and as examples of the technique which held the place of modern oil-painting in ancient art.

As the art of painting declined under the Roman Empire, that of mosaic gained in importance; and its remains are of no small value to us in our study of ancient pictorial composition. The most famous, though not technically the most perfect, of ancient mosaics is that discovered in the house of the Faun at Pompeii, which represents the meeting of Alexander and Darius on the battlefield of Issus.* This undoubtedly reproduces, though not without some misunderstandings, a painting of the early Hellenistic age, possibly the 'Battle of Alexander and Darius' by Philoxenus of Eretria, of

* An attempt has recently been made to show that Arbela, not Issus, is the battle represented; but the proof is hardly conclusive.

which Pliny speaks ; but, though it may reflect something of the *verve* of the original composition, it cannot enlighten us as to its purely pictorial qualities. In the second century of our era we find instances of the attempt to produce in mosaic, by a mere *tour de force*, the effects proper to painting ; such may be seen in the celebrated mosaic of the doves from Hadrian's villa, now in the Capitoline Museum. But it was the builders of the later Empire who best understood the part which mosaic should play in decoration. With a scale of about thirty tints they attained monumental effects far surpassing those of the modern mosaicist, who employs a thousand in place of one ; and they brought their stately figures into harmony with the lines of their architectural surroundings.

It has been observed by a recent critic that the radical distinction between Eastern and Western art is wrongly stated when it is said that the East prefers colour, the West form ; and the foregoing account of ancient painting will have shown that the Greeks, whose solution of the problem of form was final, had also mastered the secrets of colour. But it is likewise true, as the same critic points out, that Western art is profoundly intellectual ; and it can therefore be no matter for surprise that, when the intellectual movement of the Greco-Roman world came to its close, painting should have lost the ground gained through such ardent toil, ground whose reconquest was the work of the artists of the Renaissance.

H. STUART JONES.

Art. 7.—OVID AND SHAKESPEARE'S SONNETS.

1. *Shakespeare's Sonnets : being a reproduction in facsimile of the First Edition of 1609.* Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1905.
2. *P. Ovidii Nasonis Opera.* Three vols. Edited by J. P. Postgate. London : Bell, 1898.
3. *Shakespeare's Ovid : being Arthur Golding's translation of the Metamorphoses.* Edited by W. H. D. Rouse, Litt.D. London : De La More Press, 1904.
4. *Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide et leur modèles grecs.* By Georges Lafaye. Paris : Alcan, 1904.

FOR full eighteen centuries the *Metamorphoses* led in the race among Ovid's works for popular favour. Probably the vogue waxed greatest from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century. For those four hundred years generation vied with generation in proofs of admiring interest. The highest honours were steadily accorded to this spacious storehouse of myth and poetry, alike by laity and clergy through medieval western and southern Europe. The book was translated not only into French and Italian, but also into German and medieval Greek—languages then on the confines of culture. Separate fables, like those of Narcissus or Orpheus, Pyramus or Philomela, grew popular everywhere in vernacular renderings into verse. Dante in his treatise on rhetoric ('*De vulgari eloquentia*') applauded both the poetic diction of the *Metamorphoses* and its allegorical value. Of the many medieval moralisations of classical poetry over which Rabelais made merry, the most popular were two allegorical interpretations of Ovid's poem—one by Dante's disciple, Giovanni del Virgilio, the fourteenth century champion of scholarship, and the other by the French Dominican, Pierre Berquire, who lived in friendly intercourse with Petrarch at Vaucluse. The Italian humanists of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, Politian and Bembo for example, accepted the *Metamorphoses* as a poetic model of indisputable primacy, and the prolific vernacular poets, Lodovico Dolce, the Venetian, and Clément Marot, the Norman, began new literal translations before the sixteenth century was far

advanced. The French scholar printer, Stephanus, saluted the author of the *Metamorphoses* as 'the poet of painters.' Tintoretto and Titian sought in Ovid's pages inspiration for their brush. At the bidding of Francis I, Primaticcio and Rosso adorned the walls of the palace at Fontainebleau with scenes of Ovid's fables.

Meanwhile the most artistic of the early printers and engravers of Paris, Venice, and Bologna applied their skill to fine editions of the book. At Paris the first impressions of text or paraphrase bore the significant title '*La Bible des Poètes*,' for which was substituted in later issues the more sonorous designation '*Le Grand Olympe des histoires poétiques, du prince de poésie, Ovide Naso*.' Both formulas bore witness to the vastness of the book's influence on contemporary literary effort. Tudor England shared the continental enthusiasm. Caxton turned the work into his own tongue so early as 1480. Near the opening of Queen Elizabeth's reign, two Englishmen, Thomas Peend and Arthur Golding, simultaneously and independently set to work on new translations into English verse. Peend withdrew from the competition in Golding's favour after publishing a single fable. Golding carried his enterprise through, and in 1567 he completed his publication of the fifteen books of the poem in English ballad metre. Golding's version held the field for half a century. During Shakespeare's lifetime seven editions enjoyed wide circulation; and, when the book's vogue was decaying, its place was filled by the rendering of George Sandys, whom Dryden described as 'the best versifyer of the former age.' Dryden himself was, at a later period, one of the 'most eminent hands' who laboured lovingly at the same oar. The *Metamorphoses* were acknowledged to be the poet's bible in seventeenth century London no less than in sixteenth century Paris.

Ovid's *Metamorphoses* appealed to readers of all ages. Boys delighted in its story-telling charm, while their seniors recognised its perfection of style and diction. Its usefulness as an educational manual was acknowledged universally from the medieval era downwards; and no school or college of western Europe in the sixteenth century excluded the work from its curriculum. Montaigne, who graphically presented the dominant literary sentiment of European youth in his epoch, describes in

the following words an experience which every contemporary of culture might have echoed :

'The first taste or feeling I had of books was of the pleasure I took in reading the fables of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; for, being but seven or eight years old, I would steal and sequester myself from all other delights, only to read them; forso-much as the tongue wherein they were written was to me natural; and it was the easiest book I knew; and, by reason of the matter therein contained, [it was] most agreeing with my young age.' ('*Essays*,' Bk. I, cap. 25.)

The differences of nationality caused no variation in the affection which Ovid's *Metamorphoses* excited in the budding intellect of Renaissance Europe.

Shakespeare's familiarity with Ovid's *Metamorphoses* was in inevitable conformity with the spirit of his age. The Latin text was part of the curriculum of his grammar school education. Golding's English translation was universally accessible during his boyhood and manhood. There is no straining of the evidence in the assumption that, had Shakespeare left a record of the literary influences of his youth, he would have described a personal infatuation with the *Metamorphoses* no smaller than that to which Montaigne confesses in his autobiographical reminiscences. There is in the Bodleian Library an Aldine edition of the Latin poem which came out at Venice in 1502, and Shakespeare's initials are scribbled on the title-page. Whether these letters be genuine or no, a manuscript note of unquestioned authenticity states that the volume was believed, as early as 1682, to have been owned by Shakespeare. At any rate, no Renaissance poet's work offers fuller or clearer testimony than Shakespeare's of the abiding impression which the study of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* made on poetic genius.

Shakespeare's earliest play, '*Love's Labour's Lost*,' introduces Ovid as the schoolboy's model for Latin verse (IV, ii, 127): 'Ovidius Naso was the man: and why, indeed, Naso, but for smelling out the odoriferous flowers of fancy, the jerks of invention?' Elsewhere Shakespeare jests familiarly with the unhappy fate of 'the most capricious poet, honest Ovid,' who died in exile among the barbarians ('*As You Like It*,' III, iii, 8). In another early play, '*Titus Andronicus*,' the book of Ovid's

Metamorphoses is brought on the stage; and from it the tale of Philomel is quoted. But the proof of Shakespeare's minute knowledge of the Metamorphoses does not rest on specific mention of the poem or of its author. With exceptional vividness and completeness Shakespeare's writing assimilates numberless stirring passages of Ovid's mythological treasury. Nor does this bond mark the full limit of Shakespeare's indebtedness. Evidence which has been hitherto overlooked can be adduced to prove that the Metamorphoses' sporadic excursions into cosmic and metaphysical philosophy riveted the dramatist's thought with no slighter potency than the poetic figures and fables.

The phraseology of Golding's translation so frequently reappears in Shakespeare's page, especially by way of subsidiary illustration, as almost to compel the conviction that Shakespeare knew much of Golding's book by heart. At the same time it is clear that the Latin text of his school-days recurred at times to his memory. In 'King John' (v, vii, 26, 27) there is a curious verbal echo of Ovid's Latin at the opening of the Metamorphoses (I, 7), where 'chaos' is described as '*rudis indigestaque moles*.' Shakespeare, in schoolboy fashion, when he speaks of England reduced by King John to chaos, reproduces Ovid's '*rudis indigestaque*' as 'that *indigest* . . . so shapeless and so *rude*.' Golding merely renders Ovid's phrase by 'a huge rude heap.' None can mistake the source of Shakespeare's *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον*, the substantive 'indigest' (i.e. chaotic mass) with its epithet of 'rude' (i.e. the Latin *rudis*). Again, Ovid twice confers on Diana, in her character of goddess of groves, the name Titania (Metamorphoses, III, 173, and VI, 346). In both places Golding omits this distinctive appellation, and calls Diana by her accustomed title. Ovid's Latin text alone accounts for Shakespeare's designation of his fairy queen as Titania, a word which he first introduced into English poetry. A Latin quotation in 'Titus Andronicus' (IV, iii, 4), from the Metamorphoses (I, 150), '*terras Astræa reliquit*,' may have a like bearing on the same issue.

But it is on the translation of the Metamorphoses that Shakespeare levies his heaviest loan. No commentator has yet done justice to the full extent of Shakespeare's dependence on Golding's version. Most of them

have contented themselves with instancing, as an isolated feature of his plays, the close similarity of language between Prospero's recantation of his magical powers in the 'Tempest' (v, i, 33 *seq.*),

'Ye elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes, and groves,' etc.,
and Medea's incantation when making her rejuvenating potion in Golding's Ovid (*Metamorphoses*, VII, 197 *seq.*):

'Ye Elues of Hilles, of Brookes, of woods alone, of standing lakes,' etc.

This kinship of phrase, far from being unique, admits of almost endless illustration. The strange and revolting ingredients which Medea, in the same passage of Ovid, flings into her miraculous cauldron, gave the witches of 'Macbeth' many cues for their unholy compound.

It is perhaps in his easy allusiveness to Ovid's mythological personages and to the traits with which the Latin poet invests them, that Shakespeare attests the completeness with which the *Metamorphoses*, in Golding's version, swayed his mind. When, in the Induction to the 'Taming of the Shrew' (Sc. ii, 59-61), the Lord's servant promises the tinker Sly sight of a picture of

'Daphne roaming through a thorny wood,
Scratching her legs that one shall swear she bleeds;
And at that sight shall sad Apollo weep,'

Shakespeare merely paraphrases Apollo's remorseful apostrophe of the irresponsive nymph in the *Metamorphoses* (I, 508-9) as he chases her through the woods:

'Alas, alas, how would it grieve my heart
To see thee fall among the briers, and that the blood should start
Out of thy tender legs, I wretch the causer of thy smart.'

There is no more delightful tale in Ovid's work than that of Baucis and Philemon, rustic patterns of conjugal fidelity and simple hospitality, who, in their thatched cottage, 'their shed of straw,' entertain unawares Jove himself when travelling on the earth in human shape. The story, doubtless, had a Greek origin, but none has been found; and Ovid is the virtual parent of the delightful fable. The episode fastened itself on Shake-

speare's imagination. Twice does he airily employ its detail in metaphor. 'My visor is *Philemon's roof*; *within the house is Jove*,' remarks Don Pedro, in 'Much Ado' (II, i, 100), at the masked ball when he introduces himself to the lady Hero; the latter playfully caps the allusion with the words, 'Why, then, your visor should be *thatched*.' To like purport is Jaques' comment on Touchstone's affectation of learning in 'As You Like It' (III, iii, 10, 11): 'O knowledge ill-inhabited, worse than *Jove in a thatched house*.'

It is needless to accumulate evidence that Shakespeare's mind was steeped in the mythology of the *Metamorphoses* as Golding rendered it. A final reference deserves citation because it conclusively shows how literal could be Shakespeare's dependence on the English version. Frequently does the dramatist figuratively employ Ovid's touching story of the ardent hunter Actæon, who, for spying on Diana in the bathing pool, was transformed by her into a stag, and was slain by his own hounds. In 'The Merry Wives of Windsor' (II, i, 122) Pistol likens Master Ford to 'Sir Actæon,' and his patron Falstaff to '*Ringwood*,' a mysterious hound in pursuit. Ovid gives names to Actæon's hounds, calling the last 'Hylactor.' That word Golding arbitrarily and perplexingly renders 'Ringwood.' It is difficult to question the inference to which Shakespeare's use of the same appellation points.

There is good reason to believe that Shakespeare's narrative poems, 'Venus and Adonis' and 'Lucrece,' were designed in very youthful days, before the poet's ambition centred in drama. In the former he not merely reflects Ovid's phrase and thought, with a completeness unparalleled elsewhere, but he casts the whole piece in an Ovidian mould. The plays freely assimilate Ovid in metaphor and allusion; but the poems reproduce the moving form and spirit of Ovid's work. 'Venus and Adonis' bears on the title-page a couplet (from Ovid's 'Amores,' I, xv, 35, 36) in which the poet prays Apollo for a draught of the pure Castalian stream. The work is as loyal a tribute to the Ovidian conception and fashion of poetry as any in the range of Renaissance literature. The theme of 'Venus and Adonis' comes direct from the *Metamorphoses*, though Shakespeare has woven together more than one thread of story. Ovid's fable of Venus'

pursuit of Adonis is fused with the Latin poet's vivid picture of the nymph Salmacis' wanton appeal to the coy and passionless youth Hermaphroditus; while the boar who slays Adonis in the hunt is described by Shakespeare in the language which Ovid uses of the Calydonian boar killed by Meleager. The triple skein is vivified by a voluptuous fervour, a graphic imagery, and a luxuriant diction, which echo the Latin poem with signal fidelity.

French and Italian sixteenth century writers were prolific in more or less literal adaptations of Ovidian fables in their own tongues. The mythical adventures of Narcissus, Phaethon, and Pyramus had been poetised many times by Shakespeare's predecessors and contemporaries in France, Italy, and Spain. Ovid's tale of Venus and Adonis thrice underwent the ordeal in Italy between 1545 and 1561. English poets, at a little later date, turned to like purpose Ovid's characteristic tales of Glaucus and Scylla, of Cephalus and Procris, of Salmacis and Hermaphroditus. But Shakespeare's earliest publication, 'Venus and Adonis,' catches more fully than any foreign or domestic effort the glow of the Ovidian fire. In that poem Shakespeare made his entry on the Elizabethan stage of literature as the best endowed and most ardent of Ovid's disciples.

Shakespeare's second poem 'Lucrece' is in scarcely less degree an offspring of Ovidian study, although he does not therein lay the *Metamorphoses* under contribution. The story comes from Ovid's 'Fasti'; and the philosophic embroidery, which mainly presents the varied activity of Time, is an echo of the 'Tristia.' Neither in subject nor in style does the English poem stray far beyond Ovidian boundaries.

The only other separate volume of poetry of Shakespeare's authorship, apart from 'Venus and Adonis' and 'Lucrece,' is his familiar collection of Sonnets. No critic has yet detected there any extensive trace of definite Ovidian influence. The source of two or three lines has been traced to the *Metamorphoses*. Even the significance of that small reconnaissance has been underrated. Many times in the Sonnets does Shakespeare develope with poetic fervour the classical conceit that the poet's verse resists Time's ravages and preserves eternally the name of him whom the poet commemorates. Ovid, at the close

of the *Metamorphoses*, boldly adopts the proud vaunt, after the manner of Horace's ode, '*Exegi monumentum ære perennius*,' which itself owes much to Pindar. The classical conceit, as Ovid and Horace handled it, fired the imagination of all the Renaissance poets of western Europe. Ronsard was probably its most enthusiastic exponent. Shakespeare, in his fifty-fifth sonnet, presents the classical boast in gorgeous phrase, which draws directly on Ovid's peroration to the *Metamorphoses*. Shakespeare claims that his verse has so eternised his hero's fame, that

'Nor Mars his *sword* nor war's quick *fire* shall burn
The living record of your memory.
'*Gainst* death and all-oblivious enmity
Shall you pace forth; your praise shall still find room
Even in the eyes of *all posterity*
That wear *this world* out to the ending doom.'

These words reflect the closing flourish of the *Metamorphoses* (xv, 871 *seq.*), which the Elizabethan translator Golding rendered thus:

'Now have I brought a work to end which neither Jove's
fierce wrath
Nor sword nor fire nor fretting age, with all the force it hath,
Are able to abolish quite. . . . And *all the world* shall never
Be able for to quench my name. . . . And *time without all*
end . . .
My life shall *everlastingly* be lengthened still by fame.'

Under the same inspiration Shakespeare styled his Sonnets 'eternal lines' (xviii, 12), and told his friend (lxxxix, 9-12):

'Your monument shall be my gentle verse,
Which eyes not yet created shall o'er-read,
And tongues to be your being shall rehearse,
When all the breathers of this world are dead.'

The Sonnets' classical and conventional claim to eternity has been misread as an original tenet of Shakespeare's poetic creed; and even those who have recognised the likeness between Shakespeare's and Ovid's presentment of the fancy have treated the parallelism in isolation. Yet the many signs elsewhere of affinity between Shakespeare's and Ovid's poetic temperaments offer *a priori*

evidence that the Sonnets absorb more Ovidian sentiment than this single turn of thought. There is, too, a piece of contemporary external testimony which points to a more extensive debt. When Shakespeare had reached the midmost stage of his working career, Francis Meres, keen-witted schoolmaster and acute observer of literary activity, wrote of the great dramatist in his 'Palladis Tamia' (1598) thus :

'As the soul of Euphorbus was thought to live in Pythagoras, so the sweet witty soul of Ovid lives in mellifluous and honey-tongued Shakespeare; witness his "Venus and Adonis," his "Lucrece," his sugared sonnets among his private friends,' etc.

The critical preceptor gives many proofs of close acquaintance with Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, whence he borrows with precision his allusion to Euphorbus and Pythagoras (xv, 161). Meres plainly detected in Shakespeare's Sonnets, no less than in the two narrative poems, a liberal touch of the Ovidian spirit. A closer comparison of the Sonnets with the *Metamorphoses* than seems to have been yet essayed proves the truth of Meres' verdict. The last lines of the last book of Ovid's long poem gave Shakespeare a cue for his vaunt of eternal fame. A mass of earlier lines in the same book presents a series of subtle conceptions about Time and Nature which Shakespeare's Sonnets absorb no less distinctly.

Tales of enchantment, wherein men and women undergo magical transformation into animals, flowers, trees, rocks, and fountains, fill a great part of the fifteen books of the *Metamorphoses*; and to the graphic energy with which these narratives are invested, Dante paid a lasting tribute in the 'Inferno' (xxv, 97). The fables belong for the most part to Greek mythology, and were largely derived by Ovid from cognate Greek miscellanies compiled near his own time at Alexandria. Ovid was a borrower on a liberal scale, and on his Alexandrian canvas he embroidered reminiscences of Homer, of the Greek tragedians, and even of Latin contemporaries like Catullus and Virgil. Yet he can claim originality for his skill in weaving his scattered material into a homogeneous poetic panorama. At the same time mere story-telling did not exhaust Ovid's aim. Along with his tales of magic he seeks to satisfy, parenthetically, two extraneous

purposes, one of which concerns politics and the other philosophy. In the penultimate and the last books he vaguely traces the political fortunes of the eternal city from Romulus' miraculous foundation to the death of Julius Cæsar, whose metamorphosis into a star brings to a conclusion his records of transformation. His philosophic digressions are more widely distributed. At the opening as well as at the close of the poem, many hundred lines are devoted to speculation on 'the causes of things.' Ovid's work may be almost said to be framed in a philosophic setting. The proem deals with cosmology; it declares the world to be originally an emanation of chaos, and to have been first inhabited by a heroic race of humanity, who passed from the age of Gold to that of Iron, and left behind a colony of giants. These mysterious beings are reported to have made war upon the gods in heaven, who, to avert ruin, decreed a universal flood. A single pair of human beings is credited with having survived the Deluge, and they finally repeopled the earth by flinging stones, to be miraculously changed into men and beasts.

This strange thread of cosmological theory is abruptly suspended by the first series of metamorphic tales, and is kept out of sight until the poet has well-nigh exhausted his metamorphic themes. In the last book Ovid balances his cosmological exordium by a far more complex philosophical pronouncement. There he introduces the Greek philosopher, Pythagoras, as instructing the reputed progenitor of Roman law, Numa Pompilius, in the meaning of life and death. Through more than four hundred lines Pythagoras occupies Ovid's pulpit. The speaker is not content with explaining the orthodox Pythagorean doctrines of metempsychosis and vegetarian asceticism. He soon digresses into an energetic discourse, impregnated with metaphysical subtlety, on the essential imperishability of matter, of which only the outward forms undergo change. These principles of being are shown to serve a perpetual process of rotation among all the phenomena of Nature. The universe of matter is, on Ovid's hypothesis, an ever-turning wheel, which suffers nothing to be either new or old; the appearances of constant change or innovation are due to the effect of a regularly gyrating recurrence. So abstruse a solution

of the mysteries of Nature is no part of the creed which is traditionally assigned to the Pythagoras of ancient Greek philosophy. Ovid ignores the mystical mathematical axiom that the essence of all things is number, which is the centre of the original Pythagorean philosophy. The so-called Pythagorean creed which Ovid presents is in fact a recent philosophic development of Alexandria, which, though called Neo-Pythagoreanism, had small right to that title. It was fundamentally based on the Stoic platform, and was nearly akin to Neo-Platonism.

The last of the Stoic philosophers, Marcus Aurelius, summed up Ovid's doctrine in such sentences as 'all the occurrences in this world are the same from age to age and come round in a circle'; 'changes and vicissitudes roll on like one wave upon another'; 'all things were intended by Nature to change, to be converted into other forms, and to perish, so that other things may be produced in perpetual succession.' The ancient beliefs in metempsychosis and the virtue of vegetarianism, which Ovid also takes under his wing, were barely recognised by the new Pythagorean dispensation, of which the mainspring was the Stoic theory of universal 'revolution.' Elsewhere, too, Ovid travels beyond his metaphysical text. On his description of the wheel-like operation of nature, which he borrowed from contemporary metaphysicians of Alexandria, he loosely grafts geographical and geological observations, which he derives from more popular scientific manuals or reports of travel.

Ovid was in no sense a systematic philosopher. A worldling of acute intelligence, he accepted with readiness the first plausible solution at hand of metaphysical or physical puzzles. Nevertheless his fluent command of poetic diction lent charm to all he wrote; and careful readers of his *Metamorphoses* were hardly more impressed by his magical faculty of story-telling than by his unmethodised endeavour to unravel the mysterious process of being. Seneca quotes his philosophic dicta as well as his fables. The philosophic and allegorical interpreters of the poem during the Middle Ages had a specious warrant for their labyrinthine modes of exegesis. Many critics of the Renaissance detected in the *Metamorphoses* serious philosophic purpose no less than poetic charm.

William Webbe, author of 'A Discourse of English Poetry' in 1586, echoed a prevailing sentiment when he attributed to the *Metamorphoses* 'exceeding wisdom and sound judgement.' Golding, the English translator, in some preliminary original comments on the *Metamorphoses*, twice calls his readers' attention to Ovid's invention of Pythagoras' oration, wherein 'discourse' is made of 'dark philosophy' in its 'moral,' 'natural,' and 'divine' aspects.

No careful reader can overlook the thread of philosophical speculation which is woven dispersedly into the texture of Shakespeare's Sonnets. In varied periphrasis the sonneteer expresses a fear that 'nothing' is 'new'; that 'that which is hath been before'; that Time, being in a perpetual state of 'revolution,' is for ever reproducing natural phenomena in a regular rotation; that the most impressive efforts of Time, which the untutored mind regards as 'novel' or 'strange,' are but dressings of a former sight, merely the rehabilitations of a past experience, which fades only to repeat itself. The metaphysical argument has only a misty relevance to the poet's plea of everlasting love for his friend. The writer vaguely professes a fear that Nature's rotatory processes deprive his passion for the beautiful youth of all flavour of originality. With no very coherent logic he takes refuge from this distasteful reflection in a bold claim on behalf of his friend and himself to personal exemption from the universal law of Nature's and Time's endlessly recurring 'growth' and 'waning.' The reality and individuality of passionate experience are repeatedly admitted to be irreconcilable with the doctrine of universal 'revolution.'

Shakespeare's reasons for grafting these barely relevant philosophic subtleties on a poetic scheme of emotional confession of passion do not lie on the surface. Shakespeare, though a 'natural philosopher' in the general sense of 'a philosopher by light of nature,' was no professed metaphysician. The philosophic digression in the last book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* supplies the key to the riddle. A poetic master's interpretation of Life and Eternity involuntarily claimed the respectful attention of a loyal disciple. Shakespeare in the Sonnets ignores Ovid's association of his metaphysical doctrine with

Pythagoras, though in the dramas of early and middle life he plays irresponsibly, in Ovid's manner, with the proverbial 'opinion of Pythagoras

That souls of animals infuse themselves
Into the trunks of men.' ('*Merch. of Ven.*,' iv, i, 131-3.)

Pythagoras' primordial warning (in the *Metamorphoses*)—'*forbear your kinsfolk's ghosts to chase by slaughter*'—seems echoed too in the 'fear' of the Clown in '*Twelfth Night*' (iv, ii, 64) '*to kill a woodcock lest thou dispossess the soul of thy grandam.*' The worn-out creed of metempsychosis, however, finds no place in the Sonnets. It is solely with Ovid's Stoic or Neo-Pythagorean musings that Shakespeare there embroiders his emotional utterances. The result is something of a patchwork. The warm tones of the diction obscure the philosophic inconsistencies, but do not dissipate them. At any rate Shakespeare levies loans on Ovid's Neo-Pythagorean deliverances with a freedom which fully justifies Meres' citation of the Sonnets as corroborative testimony that '*the sweet witty soul of Ovid lives in mellifluous and honey-tongued Shakespeare.*'

The English poet's discipleship to the Latin poet may, with advantage to perspicuity, be first illustrated by the use Shakespeare makes of two of Ovid's vivid physiographic proofs of his central cosmic theory. The ceaseless recurrence of natural phenomena is illustrated by Ovid from the example of the sea-waves' motion. Golding translates the passage thus:

'*As every wave drives others forth, and that that comes
behind*

*Both thrusteth and is thrust himself; even so the times by
kind*

Do fly and follow both at once and evermore renew.'

Shakespeare (Sonnet, LX, 1-4) presents the argument less methodically, but he adopts the illustrative figure without much disguise. Sonnet LX opens thus:

'*Like as the waves make towards the pebbled shore,
So do our minutes hasten to their end;
Each changing place with that which goes before,
In sequent toil all forwards do contend.*'

Even more striking is Shakespeare's reproduction of

Ovid's graphic description of the constant encroachments of land on sea and sea on land, which the Latin poet adduces as fresh evidence of matter's endless variations, and fortifies by a long series of professed personal observations. In Golding's rendering the passage opens thus:

'Even so have places oftentimes *exchanged their estate*,
For *I have seen* it sea which was *substantial ground* alate.
Again, where sea was, *I have seen* the same become dry land.'

In Sonnet LXIV Shakespeare assimilates these words with a literalness which makes him claim to 'have seen' with his own eyes the phenomena of Ovid's narration:

'When *I have seen* the hungry ocean gain
Advantage on the kingdom of the shore,
And *the firm soil* win of the watery main
Increasing store with loss, and loss with store;
When *I have seen* such *interchange of state*.'

The driving vigour with which Ovid pursues this corroborative theme of 'interchange' or 'exchange' between earth and ocean is well reflected in the swing of Golding's ballad metre:

'And in the tops of mountains high old anchors have been
found,
Deep valleys have by watershot been made of level ground,
And hills by force of gulling oft have into sea been worne,
Hard gravel ground is sometime seen where marish was
before.'

With especial force does Ovid point to the subsidence of land beneath the voracious sea:

'Men say that Sicil also hath been joined to Italy
Until the sea consumed the bounds between, and did supply
The room with water. If ye go to seek for Helice
And Bury, which were cities of Achæa, you shall see
Them hidden under water; and the shipmen yet do show
The walls and steeples of the towns drowned under as they
row.'

The stirring picture so firmly gripped Shakespeare's imagination that he reproduced it in his drama as well as in his Sonnets. Under the Ovidian spell, the desponding

King Henry IV passionately exclaims (2 Henry IV, III, i, 45 *seq.*):

'O God! that one might read the book of fate
And see *the revolution of the times*
Make mountains level, and the continent,
Weary of solid firmness, melt itself
Into the sea! and, other times, to see
The beachy girdle of the ocean
Too wide for Neptune's hips.'

Shakespeare's treatment of the central tenet of Ovid's cyclical creed may be best deduced from Sonnets LIX and CXXIII. In both these poems the doctrine of Nature's rotatory process is the main topic, although the theme is developed to different purposes. In the first sonnet the poet seriously examines the theory without committing himself to it; in the second he pronounces in its favour, albeit with a smack of irony. The text of Ovid about which Shakespeare's thought revolves in these two poems is rendered by Golding thus:

'Things ebb and flow . . . Even so the times by kind
Do fly and follow both at once, and evermore renew . . .
Things pass perchance from place to place, yet all, from
whence they came
Returning, do unperished continue still the same.'

Shakespeare here concentrates all his attention on the hypothesis of 'revolution' in Nature. Sonnet LIX opens with the lines:

'If there be nothing new, but that which is
Hath been before, how are our brains beguiled,
Which, labouring for invention, bear amiss
The second burden of a former child!'

'If there be nothing new,' if what we call birth or novelty is mere rotating return of an old state of being, then, the poet proceeds to argue, his friend's beauty would have had a former existence, and would have found 'backward' record five hundred years ago. A far older world would have passed its verdict on the present theme. The poet admits that 'five hundred courses of the sun' are conceivably capable of three sequels. Firstly, things and their appearances may progress; secondly, there is possibility of retrogression; thirdly, there may result the

identity which is fruit of recurrence or repetition. The poet cannot determine

'Whether we [i.e. the present age] are mended, or whether
better they [i.e. former ages],
Or whether revolution be the same.'

Then, somewhat lamely descending to lower levels of thought, he contents himself with the confident assurance that in any case 'wits of former days' spent their eulogy on less worthy objects than his friend. Ovid's creed is that 'revolution' is 'the same,' and that things and their appearances are constantly returning to the same point whence they have come. Shakespeare, although tempted to assent, stays hesitatingly at the threshold.

In Sonnet CXXIII Shakespeare takes a bolder position, though again his intellectual courage evaporates when in face of the inevitable conclusion, and he weakly makes escape through an emotional commonplace. In the opening lines he apostrophises Time and its massive structures thus:

'Thy pyramids built up with newer might
To me are nothing novel, nothing strange;
They are but dressings of a former sight.'

In other words, Time's imposing manifestations merely rehabilitate what has been seen before. Time's apparent innovations, the poet continues, foist 'upon us' what 'is old'; we vainly imagine things to be 'born' afresh 'to our desire,' although 'we before have heard them told.' The poet, wiser than his fellows, declares with some aggressiveness that he will henceforth refuse to distinguish between 'the present and the past.' Both the records of history and our own observations are lying deceptions; the variations in natural phenomena, of which they offer delusive shows, are effects of the unending haste of Time's revolving wheel.

'For thy records and what we see doth lie,
Made more or less by thy continual haste.'

Here Shakespeare translates into his own vocabulary Ovid's dicta that 'times by kind do fly and follow both at once and evermore renew'; and that 'things . . . do unperished continue still the same.' Golding had en-

quired if 'that any noueltie worth wondring be in' the miraculous birth and death of the recurring phoenix. Shakespeare, by way of response, describes himself in the present sonnet as 'not *wondering* at the present or the past.' When, in the final couplet, Shakespeare vows constancy of love, 'despite' Time's 'scythe,' he ignores his previous argument, and breezily excuses himself by a conventional tag for indulgence in metaphysical subtlety. But the preceding quatrains show penetrating insight into the significance of Ovid's Neo-Pythagorean creed.

Some fifteen sonnets in all reflect Ovid's metaphysical or physical interpretation of the universe. In Sonnets XLIV and XLV Shakespeare develops the belief that life is constituted of the four elements, earth, water, air, and fire; all of which, he tells us, are necessary to 'life's composition.' Earth and water are described as oppressively 'slow' in action, while 'slight air and purging fire' are 'quicker' and more 'swift.' Here Shakespeare has adapted to his own purpose a leading principle of Ovid's natural philosophy:

'This endless world contains therein, I say,
Four substances of which all things are gendered. Of these
four
The earth and water for their mass and weight are sunken
lower.
The other couple, air and fire, the purer of the twain,
Mount up, and nought can keep them down.'

Such a theory of the elements was common knowledge among the medieval and Renaissance poets; but Shakespeare's mode of contrasting the density of earth and water with that of fire and air sounds a peculiarly Ovidian note. A philosophic significance of more recondite nature attaches to Shakespeare's apostrophe, in Sonnet CXXVI, of '*Nature, sovereign mistress over wrack*' [i.e. decay], whose '*skill* may Time disgrace'; whose '*skill*' may, in other words, arrest Time's destroying power. Whatever be the poet's final use of the conceit, he here not only seems to have in mind the triumph over self-destructive Chaos, which Ovid's cosmological theory at the opening of the *Metamorphoses* assigns jointly to 'God and Nature,' but would also appear to recall the '*cunning hand*' of '*Dame Nature*' in fostering human

life, which figures in the Neo-Pythagorean manifesto of Ovid's last book.

Shakespeare's raids on the *Metamorphoses* are often too spasmodic or casual to respect the tenour of Pythagoras' complex discourse. He at times accepts at Ovid's hand a felicitous fancy without regard to its setting. Ovid elucidates his theory of 'revolution' by poetic pictures of the daily course of sun and moon, of the procession of the seasons, of the progress of man's life from youth to age, of Time's recurrent ruin and restoration of kingdoms and cities. From many of these vignettes Shakespeare snatches mnemonically a detached phrase or idea which carries little trace of the philosophic atmosphere. 'Tempus edax rerum' (*Metamorphoses*, xv, 234) becomes in Shakespeare's text 'devouring Time,' which makes 'the earth devour her own sweet brood' (*Sonnet XIX*). Golding renders the Latin here:

*'Thou Time, the eater up of things, and age of spiteful teen,
Destroy all things!'*

Shakespeare develops Ovid's defiant challenge of Time's voracity by a reference to the burning of 'the long-lived phoenix,' on which Ovid also waxes eloquent. But here Shakespeare leaves Ovid's tale half told, and ignores his corollary of Time's counterbalancing forces of renewal.

In *Sonnets LXIII* and *LXIV* Shakespeare treats again of 'Time's injurious hand' and of 'Time's fell hand,' which defaces 'the rich-proud cost of outworn buried age' such, he says, as '*I have seen*.' The 'lofty towers' which he again asserts he has himself *seen* 'down-razed,' are the 'towers' of Athens and Thebes and other cities of Greece, 'ruins of whose ancient works' were overgrown with grass according to the Latin poet's glowing verse. Shakespeare's observation was a vicarious experience for a second and third time. Once more, too, Shakespeare misses Ovid's philosophic assurance that this decay is merely the starting-point of new growth:

*'So see we all things changeable; one nation gathereth
strength,
Another weareth weak, and both do make exchange at
length.'*

Yet in almost all his illustrations of Time's ravages he follows Ovid's leadership with characteristic loyalty.

Shakespeare keeps closer to his guide's steps when he adapts Ovid's sympathetic sketch of man's journey from youth to age. In Sonnet LXIII he imagines the day when his love's 'youthful morn' will have 'travell'd on to *age's steepy night*.' Similarly Ovid notes how the boy, 'growing strong and swift, . . . passeth forth the space of youth; and . . . through drooping *age's steepy* path he runneth out his race.' Not merely does Ovid's metaphor of travel correspond with Shakespeare's reflection, but Golding's phrase, '*age's steepy* path,' is accepted with very slight modification. The uncommon adjective 'steepy' tells its own tale.

In Sonnet LX, Shakespeare, with an eye on the same passage in Ovid, tells somewhat cryptically how

'Nativity, once in the main of light,
Crawls to maturity.'

This is a difficult mode of saying that the newborn babe, when it has once emerged into the full expanse of the day's light, passes on to manhood through a period of crawling. 'The main of light' echoes Golding's 'light-some sun' and 'daystar clear and bright.' The ambiguity frequently attaching to Shakespeare's habit of using abstract for concrete terms (i.e. 'nativity' for 'newborn babe') is here increased by an insistent reminiscence of Ovid's graphic description, in the same connexion, of the baby's early endeavour to crawl. On the infant's crawling processes the Latin poet lays curious stress in his account of man's progress from infancy. Golding's version runs:

'The child newborn lies void of strength; within a season
though
He, waxing fourfooted, learns like savage beasts to go;
Then, somewhat faltering, and as yet not firm of foot, he
stands
By getting somewhat for to help his sinews in his hands.

Another instructive verbal echo of Golding is heard in Sonnet xv. The four ages of man are likened by Ovid to the four seasons—to 'spring-tide,' which decks 'the earth with flowers of sundry hue,' to 'summer waxing strong . . . like a lusty youth,' to 'harvest,' and to 'ugly winter,' which, 'like age, steals on with trembling steps, all bald or overcast with shrill thin air as white as snow.'

In Sonnet xv Shakespeare writes, again claiming another's vision :

'I perceive that men as plants increase . . .
Vaunt in their youthful sap, at height decrease.'

Nothing very distinctive can be alleged of such comparisons between human life and nature. But Shakespeare here, with singular precision, goes on to define his presentation of this law of growth, in language of Golding's coinage; he calls it 'the conceit of this inconstant *stay*.' Golding repeatedly adapts a negative periphrasis, of which the word 'stay' is the central feature, when he writes of the Ovidian theory of Nature's unending rotation. Golding's usage, which is none too felicitous, was probably due to exigencies of rhyme. Thus he asserts that 'in all the world there is not that that standeth at a *stay*.' At different points he notes that 'our bodies' and 'the elements *never stand at stay*.' Shakespeare's 'inconstant *stay*' (Sonnet xv, 9) is Golding's clumsy vocabulary. He shows a keener artistic sense, and a better appreciation of Ovid's argument, when he replaces 'this inconstant stay' elsewhere by such variants as 'nature's changing course' (xviii, 8), 'revolution' (lix, 12), 'interchange of state' (lxiv, 9), and 'the course of altering things' (cxv, 8). This terminology, which also echoes Golding (e.g. 'the *interchanging course*' and '*exchange*' of 'estate'), does better justice to the lucidity of the Latin poet.

Some of the ideas common to Ovid and Shakespeare are the universal food of poetry. But the majority of the cited parallelisms have individuality; and their collective presence both in the Sonnets and in one short passage of the *Metamorphoses* establishes Shakespeare's debt. He by no means stood alone among Elizabethan poets in assimilating Ovid's Neo-Pythagorean doctrine. Nor is the cyclical solution of Nature's mysteries the exclusive property of Ovid, or of his Neo-Pythagorean tutors; it is shared by the Stoics and the Neo-Platonists. But the poets of Europe first learnt its outlines in Ovid's pages, even if curiosity impelled some of them subsequently to supplement Ovid's information by resort to metaphysical treatises of one or other of the Greek schools and to current Italian adaptations of Neo-Pythagoreanism

or Neo-Platonism. Such was clearly the experience of Shakespeare's great poetic contemporary, Edmund Spenser, who twice in his *'Faerie Queene'* repeats Ovid's account of the processes of Time and Nature in the *Metamorphoses*, but subtilises it by references to Plato or Plotinus, to Ficino or Bruno. In Spenser's third book, where Adonis personifies the productivity of Nature, and the garden of Adonis is pictured as a treasury of Nature's seeds, the poet champions the doctrine of the imperishability of matter, despite the variations of its forms, in lines like these:

'That substance is eterne and bideth so:
Ne when the life decays and form does fade
Doth it consume and into nothing go,
But changed is and often altered to and fro.'

Ovid's influence is more clearly visible in the extant fragments of the seventh book of Spenser's moral epic, the unfinished canto of *Mutability*. There Spenser depicts the regular rotation of Nature and Time,

'The ever-whirling wheel
Of Change, the which all mortal things doth sway.'

Spenser's and Shakespeare's phrasings of their accounts of the cyclic workings of *'Dame Nature's'* activities differ. But there is sufficient resemblance in thought to prove the suggestive energy of Ovid and to confirm the right of the *Metamorphoses* to its French title of *'La Bible des Poètes'*.

The cryptic problems commonly associated with Shakespeare's Sonnets lie beyond the scope of this demonstration of the Ovidian temper which colours the Sonnets' philosophy. The new proofs of Shakespeare's dependence on Ovid support the belief that the bulk of the Sonnets came from Shakespeare's pen in his early life, when his memory of the *Metamorphoses* was freshest. In that elegy of Ovid from which Shakespeare drew the motto for his *'Venus and Adonis'*, the Latin poet pays a noble tribute to Lucretius, the greatest of all poets who made philosophy their theme. Ovid's fine reference to Lucretius must have been familiar to Shakespeare in very early life, and may well have stimulated an effort to fuse lyric emotion with the philosophic speculation of Ovid's own pages.

In any case, an examination of the philosophic sentiment which courses through the Sonnets renders infeasible the claim of those poems to rank with the richest fruits of the pagan Renaissance. The main themes of the Sonnets are beauty's obligation to propagate itself in offspring, the supremacy of masculine beauty, faith in the immortality of verse and in its capacity to eternise its subject. All these themes belong to the paganism of Greek lyric poetry, which flowed from Greece through Latin literature into the vernacular poetry of the Western Renaissance. But the philosophical reflections which pervade the poems offer the plainest evidence that has yet been adduced of the pagan tone of the poet's voice. The doctrine that, in spite of all appearances to the contrary, Time is an endless rotatory process, and that what seems 'new' is mere recurrence of what has 'been before,' is fatal to all Christian conception of the beginning and end of the world, with its special creations at the outset and its day of judgment at the close. No notion of the soul's immortality is quite consistent with the cyclical workings of Time and Nature. There is no possibility of reconciling these pagan cosmic views with Christianity. Such a conclusion is of importance because it brings Shakespeare's spirit into closer kinship with the intellectual development of the European Renaissance than is sometimes acknowledged. But critical lovers of the Sonnets, who recognise in them the flower of poetic fervour, will probably be content to draw, from the fact of Shakespeare's absorption of the Ovidian philosophy, fresh evidence of that miraculous sympathy and receptivity whereby

'all the learnings that his time
Could make him the receiver of, . . . he took,
As we do air, fast as 'twas minister'd,
And in 's spring became a harvest.'

SIDNEY LEE.

Art. 8.—EARTHQUAKES AND THEIR CAUSES.

1. *The Physics of Earthquake Phenomena.* By C. G. Knott, D.Sc. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908.
2. *Les Tremblements de Terre: Géographie Séismologique.* By F. de Montessus de Ballore. Paris: Colin, 1906.
3. *La Science Séismologique.* By Le Comte de Montessus de Ballore. Paris: Armand Colin, 1907.
4. *Earthquakes in the Light of the New Seismology.* By Major C. E. Dutton. London: Murray, 1904.
5. *Earthquakes: an Introduction to Seismic Geology.* By Prof. W. H. Hobbs. New York: Appleton, 1907.

IN 1755 the city of Lisbon was destroyed by the greatest of all recorded earthquakes. That the shock itself was felt in England is possible, though far from certain. But there can be no doubt whatever as to the effects produced by the unfelt earth-waves as they spread outwards beyond the limits of the disturbed area. All over this country lakes and pools alike were agitated, the vertical movement in some of the larger basins amounting to several feet. Four or five hours afterwards the great sea-waves, so destructive to the harbour of Lisbon, reached our shores, the water rising and falling again and again like brief miniature tides. Many letters, in which these movements are described, were read before the Royal Society. They are interesting as careful records of an unusual event, but they derive their chief value from the fact that they prepared the way for the remarkable memoir in which, a few years later, the Rev. John Michell grouped and explained the phenomena then observed. The accurate descriptions contained in this memoir, and the author's wonderfully clear, almost prophetic insight, entitle it to rank, not only as one of the earliest, but as the most important, of all contributions to seismology.

Nearly a century passed, however, before the next advance was made, Michell and his work in the meantime being almost forgotten. In 1846, while pondering over a minor but interesting problem, Robert Mallet, a Dublin engineer, was led to apply the laws of wave-motion in solids, as they were then known, to the general theory of earthquakes. He was thus able to form a

much more accurate conception than Michell of the movements of the ground during an earthquake, and to suggest methods for determining the surface position and depth of the origin. A few years later he applied these methods to the disastrous earthquake of 1857 in the kingdom of Naples. To a great extent Mallet's methods are now superseded, and his views have become obsolete; but his influence remains.

Before the close of Mallet's career his work was taken up and continued in many different lands; but in no country has the progress been so marked as in the Empire of Japan. Thirty years ago the more important professors in Tokyo were a small band of English students. Attracted by the phenomena of which they had such frequent experience, and impelled by the desire to mitigate effects that were often so disastrous, they formed, under the lead of Prof. John Milne, the well-known Seismological Society of Japan. By the construction of instruments based on scientific principles, they gave precision to our conceptions of the nature and amount of earthquake motion. The organisation of earthquake-studies in Japan, founded by the Society, has been continued and extended by the Imperial Earthquake Investigation Committee; but the fact remains that, for the constitution and progress of seismology as a science, we are mainly indebted to the efforts of British workers.

The wide and growing interest taken in the study of earthquakes is shown by the large number of books now dealing with the subject. Of the five recent works referred to at the head of this article, the first is by one of the early members of the Seismological Society of Japan, and is naturally devoted to the physical aspects of the science. Written in somewhat technical language, it appeals less to the general reader than to the student of mathematical physics, who will find in it an admirable summary of all the latest investigations. The second and third volumes are the work of a French artillery officer, who has devoted many years of a well-spent life to the study of the geographical distribution of earthquakes, and is now the director of the national seismological observatory in the Republic of Chili. Major Dutton, who is the author of a valuable report on the Charleston earthquake of 1886, has described the results

of recent investigations in a clearly written and well illustrated text-book. Prof. Hobbs' interest in earthquakes dates from the Calabrian earthquake of 1905. His volume contains much that is of interest; but it is marred by not a few inaccuracies and omissions, by a misapprehension of certain fundamental principles, and by the persistent advocacy of an untenable theory.

In almost every direction the limits of our knowledge have been widely extended during the last thirty years. By the construction of seismographs, in which a part remains nearly steady during the rapid motion of the ground, the range and period of the component vibrations have been measured. The phenomena of the low rumbling sound—so low that to many persons, not otherwise deaf, it is quite inaudible—have been investigated, and the sound vibrations shown to differ only in size and rapidity from those which form the sensible shock. The great sea-waves, often the most destructive feature of a submarine earthquake, have been registered across the widest oceans, and their mean velocities have been measured. Marked variations in the frequency of earthquakes have been shown to exist. In both hemispheres they are more numerous in the winter than in the summer months; and it is not impossible that there may be some connexion between the occurrence of great earthquakes and the minute movements of the earth's pole. In nearly every civilised country the earthquakes are catalogued and studied either by official bodies or by private individuals; and the estimated annual number of shocks has risen from about six hundred half a century ago to about thirty thousand at the present day. Nor have the practical applications of the science been neglected. The best sites for buildings in an earthquake region are now determined, a foundation of hard rock being preferable to one of a loose, friable nature. And when the inferior sites cannot be avoided, new methods of construction, for which we are chiefly indebted to Prof. Milne and his successors in Japan, have been devised. It is found that the new types of buildings will survive the test of a great earthquake, while the older kinds are ruined. If it is not yet possible to offer the slightest prediction of a coming shock, we have done what lies in our power to mitigate its effects.

Three main lines of investigation, on which the greatest advance has been made, and to which the present article is confined, remain to be mentioned. Far beyond the region of the sensible shock, earth-waves, which are imperceptible, either from the smallness of their range or from the slowness of their movement, sweep round and through the globe, no part of which is free from the throbbings of a 'world-shaking earthquake.' It is one of the triumphs of modern seismology that instruments should have been devised and constructed by which the 'unfelt earthquake' may be registered and the epochs of its various phases accurately determined. Again, the origin of earthquakes has been deprived to a great extent of its mystery. Local shocks may here and there be due to volcanic action or to the fall of rock in underground channels; but all great earthquakes, and the vast majority of slight shocks, are now known to be connected with movements of the earth's crust, the same in kind and degree as those which in times past have elevated our mountain ranges or made the depressions which form our seas and straits. Intimately connected with these enquiries is the third branch of research, that which deals with the geographical distribution of earthquakes; in other words, with the regions which at the present time are undergoing change, in which mountains are growing or in process of being born. These three lines of investigation will now be considered in order.

The first intimation of the coming of a great earthquake is a deep rumbling sound, resembling that of distant thunder or of an express train rushing through a tunnel. After a second or two a weak tremor is felt. Rapidly both sound and tremor increase in strength; the sound becomes rougher and more grating, and is interspersed with deep booming crashes louder than any thunder; the tremor merges into sharp vibrations or jerks, coming apparently from many different directions. Sometimes the movement seems to pause, or rather to lessen in strength, only to be succeeded by oscillations of as great or still greater violence. The period of intense movement may last for one or two minutes; and then gradually, but perhaps intermittently, the disturbance dies away.

The vibrations that are felt and heard by human beings are only part, however, of those which are present during an earthquake. The existence of others may be manifested by such simple means as the trembling of the water-surface in a tumbler, or by the oscillations of a surveyor's level; the movement in the one case being too small in amplitude, and in the other too slow in period, to be perceptible to the unaided senses. So incessant are some of these tremors that observations with delicate instruments may be impeded. In determining the density of the earth at Birmingham, Prof. Poynting found it necessary to support his balance on solid cubes of india-rubber. The experiments of the Darwins at Cambridge and of Rebeur-Paschwitz at Potsdam on the lunar disturbance of gravity were frustrated by continual displacements of their pendulums comparable in magnitude with those which they sought to measure. At times, for days together, generally in the winter season, horizontal pendulums show that the ground is being traversed by a continued series of pulsations, each lasting about five or ten seconds. Dr Knott mentions several causes to which they may be due. High winds blowing on distant mountains are probably a fruitful source of such disturbances; but the passage of cyclonic depressions, variations in the barometric gradient, even the breaking of sea-waves on a neighbouring coast, may also be co-operating factors.

On somewhat rare occasions great and distant earthquakes were found to be responsible for these unexpected movements. Reference has already been made to the oscillation of British lakes and pools after the Lisbon earthquake of 1755. In 1877 the Russian astronomer, Nyren, noticed unusual oscillations in the bubble of a level fixed to the transit-instrument of the observatory at Pulkowa. These were found to be due to unfelt waves from an earthquake that took place seventy-four minutes earlier at Iquique, more than 8000 miles away. In 1884, and again in 1887, the magnetographs of Paris, Greenwich, Wilhelmshaven, and other places, were thrown into oscillation by earthquakes in Andalusia and the Riviera. In 1893 the measurements of Prof. Boys at Oxford on the density of the earth were interrupted by the undulations of a comparatively slight earthquake in Roumania. Rebeur-Paschwitz at Potsdam attributed

several disturbances of his horizontal pendulum in 1889 to earthquakes in Japan ; and many observations of a similar character might be quoted. They afford a partial verification of the statement, made by Prof. Milne so long ago as 1883, that it is not unlikely that every large earthquake might with proper appliances be recorded at any point of the land-surface of the globe.

To describe at all fully the different instruments employed would be beyond the scope of this article. As a rule they belong to the class of vertical or horizontal pendulums. The former, which are to be found chiefly in Italian observatories, consist of heavy masses, weighing several hundredweight, and suspended by wires or thin rods eighty feet or more in length. When an earthquake occurs, the heavy mass tends to remain at rest ; and the movements of the ground are magnified by light levers, the longer arms of which end in fine points resting on a band of smoked paper driven beneath them at a uniform rate by clockwork. When the ground is at rest, the point traces a fine straight line on the smoked paper ; but, when in motion, the point, oscillating in a direction transverse to this line, registers a series of waves, the range and length of which furnish some, though by no means an accurate, conception of the magnitude and duration of the undulations of the ground.

Far more compact, and equally efficacious, are the so-called horizontal pendulums, which are generally used in countries outside Italy. Several different types exist, but the more common form consists of a horizontal rod carrying a heavy mass at one end. A wire attached to the weighted end is suspended from the top of a rigid iron frame ; and the other end of the rod, which terminates in a fine point, rests in a conical socket lower down in the frame. The essential feature of the instrument is that these two points of support should be very nearly, but not quite, in the same vertical line, the upper support, as in the case of a gate, projecting slightly in the direction of the heavy mass. The shorter the horizontal distance between the supporting points, the more sensitive does the pendulum become to movements across its plane ; the greater also is the period of swinging of the pendulum, and consequently also the steadiness of the heavy mass during rapid movements of the ground.

Indeed so delicate are some forms of the horizontal pendulum, especially that known as Darwin's bifilar pendulum, that, if one end of a line a thousand miles long were to be raised one inch, the resulting tilt could easily be detected and measured. The movements of the pendulum are registered either photographically, as in Prof. Milne's seismograph, or mechanically, as in the vertical pendulums of Italy, by leaving a trace on a moving band of smoked paper. Of the two methods, the photographic is the more expensive, requiring as a rule a slower movement of the paper band. The photographic records, however, show definitely the different phases of the movement and allow their initial epochs to be determined with sufficient accuracy. The chief merit of the mechanical records is their openness; the individual undulations are clearly separated, and their magnitudes and durations may be measured.*

Unfortunately it by no means follows that the disturbances recorded by horizontal pendulums are always exact reproductions of the movement of the ground. They are complicated by the swinging of the pendulum itself. With rapid vibrations, no part of the bob of the pendulum is actually a steady point throughout; with the slower undulations, especially with those approaching in period to that of the pendulum, the oscillations depicted may be due to the swinging of the pendulum quite as much as to the tilting of the ground.

The suitability of the horizontal pendulum as an earthquake recorder was proved in 1889 by the late Dr von Rebeur-Paschwitz, of Merseburg in Saxony. Four years later a great earthquake of entirely unknown origin was registered by his pendulum at Strassburg and Nicolaiev, and at the same time was observed with one of Darwin's bifilar pendulums at Birmingham. It was then suggested that similar instruments should be erected at a few stations in Europe, the east and west coasts of North America, Hawaii, South America, South Africa, India, and Australia or New Zealand; but only a short interval elapsed before it was seen that the network of stations

* Several of the vertical pendulums used in Italy are described in the Brit. Assoc. Report for 1896, pp. 41-47; Mr Horace Darwin's bifilar pendulum in 'Nature,' vol. 50, pp. 246-249; and Prof. Milne's seismograph in his work on 'Seismology' (International Scientific Series), pp. 58-61.

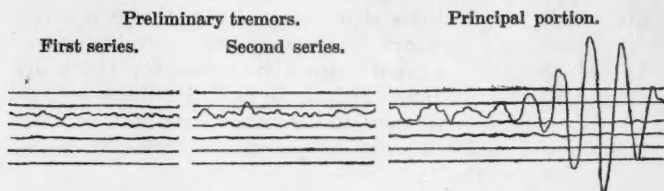
might with advantage be largely extended. The scheme drawn up by Rebeur-Paschwitz, but delayed in execution by his early death, was continued by Prof. G. Gerland of Strassburg, and has resulted recently in the foundation of an International Seismological Association, with Dr A. Schuster as chairman. In the central office of the Association at Strassburg catalogues of all known earthquakes are compiled, and the seismographic records from a large number of stations all over the world are collected and published.

Almost simultaneously with the proposal of Rebeur-Paschwitz's plan, and several years before it was executed, a similar scheme was suggested by Prof. Milne, and carried out with the aid of the British Association and the Royal Society. Beginning with his own well-equipped observatory, in 1895, at Shide, near Carisbrooke in the Isle of Wight, the number of co-operating stations has increased year by year until now there are nearly fifty. Situated for the most part in this country and in British colonies, they are distributed with a fair approach to uniformity over the land-surface of the globe. This system possesses one great advantage in that the stations referred to are provided with the same form of instrument throughout, namely, that devised by Prof. Milne. In other countries the seismographs used vary much in type and sensitiveness; and the results obtained for the initial epochs of the disturbances are not always comparable. The total number of stations equipped with instruments capable of recording 'world-shaking earthquakes' is now a little over two hundred, more than half of these being in Europe.

A glance at one of the records obtained mechanically on smoked paper is enough to show that they are composed of undulations of very different types. The earlier portion consists invariably of small rapid waves, the later of long sweeping oscillations. They are generally known as the 'preliminary tremors,' and the 'principal portion' respectively. Closer scrutiny, however, reveals differences in both parts of the record. In the 'preliminary tremors' it is nearly always possible to distinguish two series or phases, the waves of the former being smaller in range and shorter in period than those of the latter. The 'principal portion' is also divisible into

several sections, according to the periods of the waves composing them; but for our present purpose they may be considered as a single group.

The Birmingham record of the recent earthquake in India may be quoted as a type of those afforded by world-shaking earthquakes. Representative portions of



RECORD OF THE INDIAN EARTHQUAKE OF 1905, OBTAINED AT BIRMINGHAM WITH THE OMORI HORIZONTAL PENDULUM.

the different phases (corresponding to intervals of three, three, and five minutes respectively) are reproduced in the accompanying diagram, the whole record being too long for insertion. The shock took place at 0·50 A.M. on April 4, 1905. Eleven minutes later the first series of preliminary tremors reached Birmingham. They consisted of small waves, each lasting on an average for about five seconds. In fourteen minutes they were succeeded by the second series of preliminary tremors, composed of slightly larger waves with an average duration of $10\frac{1}{2}$ seconds. In less than nine minutes more the preliminary tremors merged into the oscillations of the principal portion. Each of the first four oscillations lasted for more than half a minute; and it will be noticed that on them are superposed minute ripples of the same average duration as the tremors of the second phase, of which they are probably a continuation. Then followed a series of large oscillations, lasting altogether for about eight minutes; after which their range was suddenly reduced to a fraction of its former size and their period to about a quarter of a minute. In this state they remained for an hour and a half, when the trace became once more steady, except for the interruption of a few long low undulations which occurred about two and a half hours after the beginning of the disturbance.

The time in the central region and the initial epochs

of the different phases at other stations being known with considerable accuracy, it follows that the velocities of the different series of waves, either over the surface or along the corresponding chord, may be determined. Dr Omori, the able professor of seismology in the University of Tokyo, has analysed the records from nearly seventy observatories scattered all over the world. He finds that for stations situated in India the two series of preliminary tremors had mean surface-velocities of $4\frac{1}{2}$ and $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles a second respectively, and for the more distant stations in Great Britain $6\frac{1}{2}$ and $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles a second. For the principal portion, on the other hand, the surface-velocity maintains a practically constant value of about two miles a second.

The examination of the records of many other earthquakes fully confirms this fundamental difference between the preliminary tremors and the principal portion of the disturbance. The surface-velocity of the former increases, as a rule, with the distance from the origin; that of the latter is almost uniform throughout. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that, while the large waves of the principal portion travel along the earth's surface, the preliminary tremors follow a shorter path or paths directly through the body of the earth.

To what depth below the surface the waves of the principal portion extend, we have no knowledge. From the wide area over which they are perceptible we may infer perhaps that they are mainly superficial. In some cases there can be no doubt that, as they pass, the surface of the ground is slowly tilted to and fro through a very small angle. Prof. Milne regards them as something like an ocean-swell, 'causing continental surfaces to rise and fall like huge rafts upon a heaving ocean,' and the aptness of the illustration is evident from one attempt made to measure the dimensions of the waves. The Greek earthquake of April 27, 1894, was not indeed one of the first order of magnitude, but the waves were registered all over Europe. In Birmingham those which travelled along the surface were found to be about 28 miles long and not more than half an inch high.

In spreading outwards over the surface, these waves, after traversing one-quarter of the circumference of the globe, converge towards and reach the antipodes of the

origin. Crossing from different directions through this point, they again diverge and, though weakened by their long journey, may still be traced in their return passage towards the origin. The process may be repeated more than once. Indeed, after every great earthquake we may imagine this superficial throbbing to swell many times round and round the globe, after the manner of the air-waves which followed the great eruption of Krakatoa, the number of times they are recorded at any station depending on the delicacy of the instruments employed. The first surface-waves of the recent San Francisco earthquake reached Birmingham in a little more than half an hour, having travelled along the shorter arc between the two places; those which started in the opposite direction and traversed the longer arc occupied nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours. The former waves, continuing their course, ultimately returned to the place of origin, passed through it, and repeated the journey along the shorter arc, reaching Birmingham about $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours after the occurrence of the earthquake. The interval between the first and third passages through Birmingham was thus about $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours, this being the time taken by the surface-waves to pass completely round the globe.

The velocities of the preliminary tremors have occupied the attention of many seismologists, and especially of Mr R. D. Oldham, Prof. Milne, and Prof. Omori. Mr Oldham, in 1900, was the first to prove the existence of two distinct series of tremors, though his interpretation of the second series is not yet universally accepted. It is generally agreed that the first series of tremors are waves of elastic compression, the component vibrations taking place in the direction of propagation, and that they travel, not along the surface, but through the body of the earth. Mr Oldham's view—and it is an exceedingly probable one—is that the second series of preliminary tremors are waves of elastic distortion, the vibrations being transverse to the direction of propagation; and that they also travel through the body of the earth, though not necessarily along the same path as the first.

Of the exact form of these paths we have attained as yet no accurate conception. It is clear that they are not straight lines, for the velocity of the first tremors varies from two or three miles a second for short chords

to seven or eight miles a second for long chords. As the latter chords approach the more closely to the centre of the earth, it is evident that the speed of the waves increases with the depth below the surface, and, as a result of this law, that the paths must be curved lines convex towards the centre of the earth.

The investigations of unfelt earth-waves, though the outcome of only a few years' work, have already yielded results of considerable interest; but it is in their bearing on the nature of the earth's interior that their significance chiefly lies, and no other method of enquiry on this very obscure subject appears to afford more promising results. As ordinary liquids are incapable of transmitting waves of distortion, it would seem that the second series of tremors, if they be of this character, can only traverse a solid earth. The inference is not free from doubt, for, as Mr Oldham remarks, 'We know nothing of the behaviour of matter exposed to the pressures prevailing in the interior of the earth; and it is not wholly inconceivable that a fluid under pressure of millions of atmospheres might be able to transmit the distortional waves which it is unable to transmit under pressures with which we are familiar.' From the velocity of the first series of tremors, however, he shows that the waves which reach a station six thousand miles from the earthquake origin must have traversed material which possesses many times the rigidity and the resistance to compression of granite.

The variations in the velocity of the first tremors also throw some welcome light on the structure of the earth. The mean velocity along the chord joining the origin to an observing station is at first about two miles a second. So long as the chords do not recede more than twenty or thirty miles from the surface, this velocity is nearly constant. As soon, however, as they penetrate to a greater depth, the velocity rises rapidly to six miles a second, and then more gradually to a maximum of seven or eight miles a second. This seems to indicate that the crust of the earth for the first twenty or thirty miles does not differ much in character from the known materials at the surface, but that lower still there is a central portion of great rigidity and practical uniformity of structure which extends to a considerable depth.

Whatever changes there may be are probably due merely to increased pressure and higher temperature.

Mr Oldham has recently brought forward some evidence to show that this structure is not continued to the centre of the earth, though the observations on which he relies may not be sufficient to prove his view. To a distance of a third of the earth's circumference the velocity of the second series of tremors, when measured along the chord, increases very gradually to nearly four miles a second. But at greater distances the velocity is reduced so suddenly that it is impossible to imagine that the variation in velocity is continuous; and Mr Oldham therefore concludes that there is an abrupt change in the structure of the earth. Now a chord joining two points one-third of the circumference apart reaches at its middle point halfway to the earth's centre; and the wave-paths at this depth are convex towards the centre of the earth, so that the radius of the central core would be about two-fifths of that of the earth.

An application of some practical value remains to be noticed. The central district shaken by a great earthquake often remains isolated for several days from the rest of the world. Telegraph-poles may be thrown down and railway-lines damaged; or, for commercial reasons, all telegraphic messages may be censored. Yet, for these and other reasons, it may be important that the site of the disaster should be known at once. The difference in velocity of the preliminary tremors and the principal waves provides a simple method of attaining this result. The duration of the tremors, that is, of the interval between the arrivals of the first tremor and the first large oscillation, increases with the distance of the observing station from the origin, being, for example, 22 minutes for a distance of 3500 miles, 35 minutes for a distance of 5500 miles, and 46 minutes for a distance of 8300 miles. Thus, from the duration at a single station, the distance from the origin is determined, so that the origin must lie on a circle with the station as centre and this distance as radius. If only one well-known seismic district lies upon this circle it may be regarded with some probability as containing the seat of the disturbance. Any uncertainty that remains is lessened by the observations from a second station, for the origin must then lie at one

of the two points of intersection of two circles with these stations as centres; while, with a third station as centre, the particular point is definitely fixed. Prompted by a suggestion made by the Hamburg Chamber of Commerce after the San Francisco and Valparaiso earthquakes of 1906, a service has been instituted in Germany for providing early notice of the occurrence of great earthquakes. The stations selected are Hamburg, Graz, and Strassburg, Hamburg and Graz being 510 miles apart, and 360 and 380 miles respectively from the central station at Strassburg. The value of the service was soon tested. On December 3, 1906, an earthquake occurred, the origin of which was found to be 4660 miles from Hamburg and 4598 miles from Strassburg. The corresponding circles intersect in the Lesser Antilles. On December 7 a New York telegram stated that an earthquake had occurred in Jamaica on December 5; three weeks later it was known that the earthquake really occurred on December 3.

Fifty years ago earthquakes were universally attributed to volcanic action. They were regarded as incomplete efforts to establish a volcano, as a safety-valve by which an eruption is averted. Looked at broadly, both phenomena affect the same regions or bands of the earth's surface; and in the effort to force an eruption there seems a reserve of power capable of producing any known shock. A closer examination shows, however, that seismic and volcanic districts, though often adjoining, are in reality distinct. The country immediately surrounding a volcano is disturbed by fewer and less severe earthquakes than others more remote, while the most violent shocks take place in regions that are entirely free from active or recently extinct volcanoes.

On the other hand a source of power capable of producing the weakest tremor as well as the strongest shock has been recognised in the continual growth of 'faults' or fractures in the earth's crust. Deformations of the crust take place either by folding or by fracturing. The fractures, which in some cases are hundreds of miles in length, are accompanied by relative displacement of the rock-masses on either side; the shift or throw, as in the Irwell valley fault near Manchester, or the Bala fault in central Wales, often amounting to several thousand

feet. As a rule, the total displacement is attained so slowly and so gradually that no sign of it is visible at the surface, unless the rocks exposed on either side have been unequally reduced by weathering, or, as in certain desert regions, have been almost untouched by denudation. It is effected by a series of intermittent slips, now in one part of the 'fault,' now in another, varying in magnitude from a mere creep over a few yards to a slide of several feet over a stretch of many miles. The friction brought into play by the grating of one rock mass over and against the other depends on the mass of the rock displaced; thus it may generate a shock as slight as those to which we are accustomed in this country, or an earthquake as violent as those of Valparaiso, San Francisco, or Japan. In the latter cases also the earth-waves due to the friction of the fault-slips were increased and complicated by the sudden spring of the displaced masses.

It is in earthquakes such as these that we have the most convincing testimony of their connexion with the growth of 'faults.' In the central part of the area shaken the ground is traversed by numberless fissures, mostly of small extent and clearly superficial in their nature and origin. But sometimes among them one or more may be traced which are notable both for their great length and for their general persistency in direction. The manifestations of seismic energy along their course, and the crushing and displacement of the rock on either side, point clearly to their deeply seated origin and to their containing the source of the earthquake motion.

Movements of elevation and depression have long been known to accompany earthquakes; but most of the early evidence on the subject has been often, and not without justice, discredited. That obtained within the last few years, however, is of a different character; and the reality of relative displacements of the crust is now proved. One of the most remarkable features of these fractures is their great length. They have been followed for 34 miles in Greece, for 40 miles in Japan, and for about 185 miles in the neighbourhood of San Francisco. On one or both sides the rock is displaced horizontally as well as vertically. When the vertical shift is less than a couple of feet the fracture is usually manifested as a step or terrace. If it should exceed two feet a low cliff

is formed, vertical at first, but afterwards weathering down until it presents the appearance of one side of a newly made railway cutting. Such cliffs attain in places a considerable height, as much as 18 feet in Japan in 1891, 35 feet in Assam in 1897, and, though perhaps as a series of successive steps, a total of 47 feet in Alaska in 1899. When they cross the course of a stream they give rise to waterfalls or to pools and even lakes. Not less striking are the effects of the horizontal shift, which is almost continuously in one direction along the whole length of the fault and may amount to 16 or 20 feet. Roads, piers, water-mains are severed and their ends left standing apart, railway lines are crumpled or torn open at the joints, trees are split in two, fields are compressed and their boundaries altered.

The total volume of rock displaced in such earthquakes must be enormous. In the recent San Francisco earthquake it was estimated to be as much as one or two million cubic miles. The grinding action of a mass so huge along two hundred miles of the fault surface, and to a depth unknown but certainly great, and its sudden transference through a distance amounting in places to twenty feet, would inevitably cause a shock that might well be felt over a million square miles and be propagated in the form of unfelt earth-waves more than once around the globe.

When we turn from these great earthquakes to the milder shocks which visit this country, the evidence of their origin, though not so manifest to the eye, is not less convincing. There is, it should be remembered, no line to be drawn between the two kinds; for there are shocks of every intermediate degree of strength. The phenomena of a weak earthquake may be less varied and imposing, but in the main they differ from those of stronger shocks not so much in character as in intensity; and the investigation of both leads to the same result.

Confining our attention to the earthquakes of Great Britain, which have been more closely studied than those of any other country, we notice several features that are indicative of their connexion with the growth of faults. The isoseismal lines, or lines of equal intensity, are nearly always elongated curves, not approximately circular, as they would be if their origins were of small dimensions.

Moreover, the directions in which these curves are elongated are parallel, or very nearly parallel, to the principal faults of the district shaken. It is even possible, from the forms and relative positions of the isoseismal lines, to predict the direction and slope of the originating fault, roughly also its position. These elements in several cases are found to be those of well-known faults; in others, they probably indicate the existence of deep-seated faults which are beyond the reach of the field geologist. Occasionally one of our seismic districts, such as that near Inverness, is visited by a succession of earthquakes, the isoseismal lines of which are all elongated in the direction of the originating fault, and have centres lying within a narrow band parallel to the same direction; and these centres are subject to a continual migration along this band, not in one direction only, but oscillating to and fro, showing that the earthquakes are due to the growth of the faults by slipping here and there, and not to their formation or extension only. This is also evident from the abundance of shocks in any district, which is greatly in excess of the number of faults.

The manner in which the faults grow seems also to be the same, whether they are in a vigorous state of growth, as in many parts of Japan, or whether they show merely signs of flickering vitality, as in the district between Inverness and the north-east end of Loch Ness. The great Mino-Owari earthquake of 1891, for instance, was caused by a displacement along a fault forty, possibly seventy, miles in length, extending almost or quite across the main island of Japan. It was followed by an enormous number of after-shocks, the majority being very slight, but a few strong enough to complete the destruction of houses damaged by the principal shock. At one place near the great fault 3365 shocks were recorded within little more than two years. Although no part of the fault was free from after-slips, they were especially prevalent in the central and two terminal regions. Gradually, however, they declined in strength and frequency, leaving the ends of the fault and concentrating finally near its middle portion, while at the same time they approached more and more closely to the surface of the earth.

Very similar, but on a much smaller scale, were the

earthquakes felt near Inverness in September 1901, which were caused by slips on the great fault traversing Scotland along the line of the Caledonian Canal. To movements along this ancient fault are due many of the prominent features of the country—the straight south-easterly coast of Ross-shire and the linear chain of lakes beginning with Loch Dochfour and Loch Ness, and ending with Loch Linnhe on the opposite coast. The principal shock (September 18), caused by a slip extending for eight miles, from Loch Ness to Inverness, was followed by about fifty after-shocks, many of them extremely slight, but taking place for the most part in three districts—the central district lying between Inverness and Loch Ness, while Inverness itself and the north-east end of Loch Ness formed the two terminal districts. Here, again, the later slips tended to forsake the terminal regions and to approach more nearly to the surface.

A distinction of some importance, however, marks the two series of shocks. So far as we know, the Inverness earthquakes were caused by slips along a single fault; in the Mino-Owari earthquakes a system of faults, rather than one fault only, seems to have been in action. Still more complex were the movements which produced the great Indian earthquake of 1897, so successfully studied by Mr R. D. Oldham, at that time on the staff of the Geological Survey of India. Mr Oldham has shown that a huge crust slide must have occurred, extending to a depth of a few miles and over an area about 200 miles long and not less than fifty miles in width. This portion of the crust was intersected by minor faults along which movements also took place. Lakes and pools were formed by the bending of the crust; distant hills and rivers became visible from places from which they were previously hidden, and a revision of the trigonometrical survey showed that horizontal and vertical movements, amounting perhaps to about twenty feet, had taken place. The Indian earthquake exhibits to us the mountain-making movements on the grandest scale, accomplishing more at one stroke than myriads of fault-slips in this country. Yet both alike show that earthquakes are mere indications of the site and epoch of intermittent steps in the growth and decay of mountain chains.

Though the study of the geographical distribution of earthquakes is one of some practical value, it is from the intimate connexion between earthquakes and the processes of mountain-building that it derives its highest interest. When we define the principal seismic regions of the world we are in reality tracing those portions which are now in a state of active change. When we indicate the countries in which earthquake shocks are slight and infrequent we refer to those which have entered on a period of old age or stagnation, in which the degrading forces of denudation exert their powers to the uttermost.

One of the first seismographic maps of the world was that constructed by Robert Mallet half a century ago. The materials at his disposal were perhaps hardly sufficient for the purpose, and the method which he employed was rough in the extreme. But, as a first attempt, his map was not without value. It illustrated very clearly the fact that, while large portions of the earth's surface are almost entirely free from earthquake action, there are other portions, for the most part elongated bands, in which that action seems to be concentrated. These bands, as Mallet remarked, 'very generally follow the lines of elevation which mark and divide the great oceanic or terr-oceanic basins . . . of the earth's surface,' while the regions of zero or slight disturbance are the central areas of such basins and the greater islands existing in shallow seas. On the one hand, Mallet could point to such well-known seismic regions as Chili and Japan, bordering the Pacific Ocean, or to the shores of the Mediterranean Sea and its corresponding depression on the western continent; on the other hand, to the comparatively unshaken areas of central Russia and the eastern portion of South America, or to the great islands of Britain, Borneo, and Madagascar.

The main law of distribution deduced from Mallet's map has been confirmed and amplified by the detailed work of the last few years. While Mallet coloured the disturbed areas of the more important earthquakes all over the world, Prof. Milne and others have depicted the centres of individual shocks, both strong and weak, within certain limited districts. Prof. Milne, for instance, has drawn a map on which are shown the centres of

more than eight thousand Japanese earthquakes. Two remarkable features are clearly revealed by this map; one, that 'the central parts of Japan, which are the mountainous districts where active volcanoes are numerous, are singularly free from earthquakes'; the other, that the majority of earthquakes 'seem to originate from the face of the steep monoclinal slope which Japan presents towards the Pacific Ocean.'

M. de Montessus de Ballore, who has made the subject of seismological geography almost his own, has arrived at similar conclusions. In his great work, which is based on the discussion of more than 170,000 earthquakes in all parts of the world, he draws attention to the independence of seismic and volcanic phenomena. The regions in which destructive earthquakes are most prevalent are far distant from those which contain active or recently extinct volcanoes, while such mountains, though they may be the seat of local shocks which prelude or attend an eruption, are frequently to be found in districts which otherwise may be regarded as almost free from earthquake shocks. Both phenomena are no doubt the result of operations taking place within the earth's crust, but they are clearly due to different causes.

Again, M. de Montessus finds the broad result stated by Mallet to be true in detail.

'D'une façon générale, on peut dire que de deux régions contiguës, par exemple les deux versants d'une vallée, les deux flancs d'une chaîne de montagnes, les plaines et les hauteurs voisines, etc., la plus instable est celle qui présente la plus forte pente moyenne ou les plus grandes différences d'altitude, c'est-à-dire le plus grand relief relatif ou absolu. La raison en est sans doute que le relief est le plus souvent en raison de l'importance des dislocations, qui, soit par leur manque d'équilibre, soit par la continuation des efforts tectoniques qui les ont causées, appellent tout naturellement une plus facile production des tremblements de terre.'

Thus, violent earthquakes are to be expected on the steeply shelving margins of the Pacific Ocean, but not on a gently sloping surface such as the ocean-bed from which the British Isles arise.

To map completely the earthquakes of the whole world is evidently a task beyond our powers. It would

require that we should not only know the position of the centre of every earthquake, but should indicate in some manner the strength of the shock and the form and magnitude of its seismic focus. We cannot do this even for a limited and well-known area like Great Britain; much less could we make a satisfactory attempt for the whole world, large areas of which are inaccessible to us, inhabited by savage tribes or covered by tracts of ocean seldom traversed by our ships. For the present, it is probable that we shall learn more from the important movements, those which give rise to world-shaking earthquakes. Owing to the close network of seismological stations with which the continental areas are studded, none of these can escape our notice. As we have seen, the centre of every great earthquake can now be located with a fair approach to accuracy; and the chief objection to this method of depicting the distribution of seismic energy is the very limited time within which our records of these earthquakes are confined.

With every year, however, the force of this objection is being lessened. The records collected by the Seismological Committee of the British Association during the years 1899-1907 have been analysed by the secretary, Prof. Milne, who estimates the number of world-shaking earthquakes during these nine years at 514, or between fifty and sixty a year. Plotting the apparent centres of the earthquakes on a map of the world, he finds that they are collected in more or less well-defined groups bounded by long oval curves. Of such regions Prof. Milne enumerates twelve, five being entirely oceanic, one mainly terrestrial, and the others partly oceanic and, with the exception of the West Indies, clinging to the steeply-sloping margins of the Pacific Ocean. Indeed three out of every five great earthquakes originate in one of the five seismic regions which embrace Alaska, California, Mexico, Central America, and the west coast of South America on the one side, and the Kuriles, Japan, Philippines, and the Malay Archipelago on the other. The purely oceanic regions are of comparatively little consequence, all five of them together being responsible for only one out of every eight world-shaking earthquakes. There remains the single region which is almost entirely terrestrial, composed of four sub-regions, the Alpine, the

Balkan, the Caucasian, and the Himalayan. It is the last-named sub-region which is visited by earthquakes of the most destructive character, some of those which have occurred during the last three or four years being no mean rivals of the greatest shocks known. One out of every five world-shaking earthquakes originates in this land-region, which contains lofty mountain-ranges elevated within a comparatively recent geological period.

It was not to be expected that M. de Montessus' great world-map of earthquakes should agree in all its details with that drawn by Prof. Milne. Though based on more than 170,000 earthquakes of all degrees of strength, from the world-shaking earthquakes considered by Prof. Milne to the tremors which, from time to time, are felt in this country, it represents no more than a fraction of those shocks which actually occurred. His map, however, is of value, if only from its inclusion of these weaker shocks. It exhibits regions of moderate seismic activity, which are, of course, absent from Prof. Milne's map; and it represents the distribution of that activity over a very much longer period of time. M. de Montessus' principal conclusion is that the majority of our known earthquakes occur along two narrow zones, coinciding very nearly with two 'great circles' on the earth's surface. One of these, the Mediterranean or Alpine-Caucasian-Himalayan circle, includes $52\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of all known earthquakes; the other, the circum-Pacific or Andean-Japanese-Malayan circle, includes $38\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., leaving only 9 per cent. for the continental areas. Seismic action is not of course uniform along these two bands. There are portions of maximum activity corresponding to Prof. Milne's regions; and these are connected by districts which, in the present stage of the earth's history, are visited by less frequent and less violent shocks.

It should, however, be remembered that our earthquake catalogues are confined to a period that is infinitesimal compared with that required for the growth of a mountain-chain. For the Old World we have hardly any records before the Christian era; for the New we have none earlier than the last three or four hundred years. Yet even the latter interval is sufficient to exhibit on a small scale many migrations of seismic activity. In the Iberian peninsula, for instance, earthquake action during

the eighteenth century was concentrated along the west coast of Portugal, culminating in the great Lisbon earthquakes of 1755 and 1761. In the succeeding century it was transferred to the south of Spain, and was manifested in the destructive shocks of Almeria, Murcia, and Andalusia. Similar changes are exhibited within every seismic district. One portion may be subject to frequent earthquakes for many years in succession, after which it may regain a state of comparative repose while another takes its place. In the same way the seismic districts, as a whole, may be subject to fluctuations of energy; for it is probable that, as in times past, so in centuries yet to come, the intervening regions may abandon their quiescent character and contribute their share to the growth of the two great instable bands which now encircle the globe.

The foregoing portion of this paper was already written when the great earthquake of last December occurred in Sicily and southern Calabria. If it be measured by the loss of life, the earthquake was one of the most disastrous of which we have any record; but, though it belongs to the class of world-shaking earthquakes, it was not of unusual strength. It was indeed followed by another of nearly equal intensity within less than a month. On January 23 seismographs at many distant stations recorded the vibrations of a great earthquake, of which, for three or four weeks, no news whatever reached the outer world. By the method explained above it was estimated that its centre was situated in northern Persia, not far from Astrabad; and this inference was confirmed by the intelligence that Burujurd and other neighbouring places in north-western Persia were overthrown with the loss of thousands of lives. The two earthquakes originated in the great terrestrial zone, and not far from its western and eastern limits respectively.

The Messina earthquake belongs to the class known in Italy as that of 'polycentric' earthquakes. Its destructive effects were manifested in several more or less detached regions along the west coast of southern Calabria. The most important of these regions was that which includes Messina, Reggio di Calabria, and the surrounding villages. The centre of this region lies

beneath the straits of Messina; and the occurrence of the sea-wave shows that there must have been some displacement of the sea-bed. A second region contains the small towns of Palmi, Bagnara, etc., while a third lies farther to the north round Monteleone and Oppido. Time after time these and other similar regions have been visited by disastrous earthquakes. Sometimes, as in 1854 and 1894, the destructive violence of the shock was concentrated mainly in one zone, or, as in February and March 1783, the seat of disturbance migrated from one zone to another; at other times, as in September 1905 and December 1908, several regions were struck simultaneously. The different seismic centres are evidently connected. In all probability they form portions of a great fracture or system of fractures passing near the west coast of southern Calabria and the north coast of Sicily. The Calabrian and Sicilian earthquakes are the incidental effects of movements along this fracture or fractures; and these movements are merely the latest of a long series which in times past have formed the straits of Messina and deepened the Tyrrhenian Sea.

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Art. 9.—A CENTURY OF ENGLISH MUSIC.

1. *A History of Music in England*. By Ernest Walker, Mus.Doc. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1907.
2. *Forty Years of Music, 1865-1905*. By Joseph Bennett. London : Methuen, 1908.
3. *Studies and Memories*. By Sir C. V. Stanford. London : Constable, 1908.

SINCE the first number of the 'Quarterly Review' made its appearance most things have changed a good deal in England; but in no branch of art has so great a transformation been accomplished as in music, and in the attitude of the general public towards the art. In the early part of the nineteenth century the man who would admit that he understood anything about music, or cared for it beyond the degree of admiration implied in the desire to lounge in to an opera-stall after dinner, would have been considered an eccentric; though the word 'decadent' was hardly in use then, he would certainly have been viewed with various kinds of disfavour by his contemporaries. It was the pride of the typical John Bull to allege that he could not recognise his own national anthem; and George III's love of music was generally held to be a symptom of the mental weakness of his last years. This profession of indifference to music was often an empty one; and in his volume of collected essays Sir Charles Stanford gives an example of the acute sense of just musical accentuation shown by Tennyson, who would never admit that he possessed any kind of instinct for music. Of course among the ladies musical taste was supposed to exist; but their average achievement in the art was on much the same level as their water-colour drawing or their tambour-work. Even as a polite accomplishment their music was confined to a little harp-playing, if a young lady had a well-formed arm; the striking of a few chords on the 'forte-piano,' if she possessed, like Miss Wirt, 'a finger'; or the delivery of a sickly ballad, whether she had a voice or not. On special occasions those who paid court to these performers were expected to throw in an 'accompaniment' on the flute; but, from all accounts, this accompaniment was of a more or less extemporaneous nature, and must

have been rather trying to listeners who did not feel that music was the food of courtship.

There may have been individuals here and there who genuinely mourned the death of Haydn in 1809, who had enjoyed 'The Creation,' and themselves attempted some of the English canzonets; but really cultivated amateurs were rare, even among the ladies of the time. In certain of the fashionable papers musical compositions were occasionally mentioned; and their readers may have come across such a review as that which appeared in 'Le Beau Monde' of 1809, and have learnt that there was in Germany a young composer called Beethoven, whose quartets—the 'Rasoumovsky' set was under notice—were 'at least eccentric if not erratic,' and that 'we' (the critic) 'do not always understand what the composer would be at.' If this were the general opinion, it is difficult to see how at the same time Beethoven was recognised, as he undoubtedly was, by the musicians of England as a really great man, whose oddities were to be condoned for the sake of the sublimity of his ideas.

Of course the amateurs did not make up the world of music, for their music-masters and the organists of the churches they frequented constituted the musical profession—a calling very sparsely filled, according to our modern standards. The foundation of the Philharmonic Society in 1813 was a purely professional enterprise, intended almost as much to draw its members together socially, as to give them an opportunity of performing, and of knowing what was going on in the musical world. Undertakings of the same kind had existed before the end of the eighteenth century, such as the 'Professional Concerts,' the 'Academy of Ancient Music,' and others; but these had come to an end before the nineteenth century began. Most of the other institutions were for the amusement or edification of the few amateurs who cared for the best music. The 'Concert of Antient Music' existed from 1776 till 1848; but, by its exclusion of all music less than twenty years old, it gradually became more and more dry-as-dust, and showed an ever-increasing tendency to confine its programmes to selections from Handel. The convivial societies, such as the still existing 'Madrigal Society,' the 'Catch Club,' the 'Glee Club,' and the 'Concentores Sodales,' were also meant for

the pleasure of the rich subscribers, and only secondarily for the good of art.

It had not been always so in England. In very distant times Englishmen were pioneers in music. The Reading round, 'Sumer is icumen in,' is anterior to any secular composition of the same degree of development. Dunstable ranks as one of the earliest theorists. The Elizabethan composers carried that beautiful art-form, the madrigal, to a higher degree of perfection than it had attained even in its native Italy; the composers of the Restoration, from Purcell downwards, had gained for England a high position among musical nations; and even through the dark days of the eighteenth century, when the vogue of Handel's music was so strong as to swamp every effort of our native writers, there were still existing concerts with a certain amount of artistic aim. The story of the nation's music is ably told in Dr Walker's history. In England the first public concerts of the world were given; and the status of the professional musician was established and recognised here sooner than in any other country. It is possibly due to this early acceptance of the commercial side of music that England became so rich a harvest-field for foreign performers. The presence of these aliens, which has been a prominent feature ever since the days of Handel, has naturally kept back the reputation of our native musicians, by taking up all the opportunities for lucrative display, and engaging the attention of the fashionable world to the exclusion of composers or interpreters of English birth. In every department of music, save only that of the Church, the domination of the foreigner existed; but happily one sphere of musical activity after another has been gradually won back, and at the present moment even the last entrenchment, that of exotic opera, is in a more doubtful position (artistically though not financially) than ever before. English singers and players are being more and more widely appreciated in England and abroad; the long struggle to obtain a hearing for English music of high aim has been won; for at last the spectacle has been witnessed of all the London world rushing to the Queen's Hall to hear a symphony by an Englishman. No more striking evidence of the change that has come over our country could be given than the

extraordinary vogue of Sir Edward Elgar's symphony; and, whatever the means by which public attention was at first attracted, the important point for our argument remains, that the British public has for once become enthusiastic over a piece of music of British origin.

It is not uninteresting to trace the process by which not merely the performers, but the composers of England have gradually advanced in public estimation, so that the old sneers about England not being a musical country are quite inappropriate now. In the first article on music which appeared in the 'Quarterly Review,' in 1848 (vol. 83, p. 481), foreign domination is accepted as an inevitable part of the scheme of things.

'If, since the early death of Purcell, England has produced but few native composers of eminence, we may be satisfied in remembering that she has adopted more than any other country. It may be said without presumption that in no other respect is the national pride and prejudice so utterly forgotten as in our taste for music; nowhere does the public ear embrace a wider range of musical enjoyment and knowledge; nowhere do the various professors of musical art find fairer hearing or better pay.'

This state of almost servile contentment with the existing state of things was exchanged for a more hopeful view in the next article on music included in the Review eleven years afterwards (vol. 106, p. 82), where the reviewer of Chappell's 'Popular Music' finds it possible to compare favourably the state of things in the middle of the century with what it had been a generation before.

'Scarcely thirty years have elapsed since the normal John Bull was supposed to entertain a manly abhorrence against the sing-song that delighted more frivolous foreigners. . . . But now music is the rage everywhere—if, indeed, the word "rage" can be applied to a steady predilection which extends over all classes of the British public, and gives no signs of evanescence. . . . The epicure . . . finds a series of *soirées* and *matinées* sufficient to occupy his mind with instrumental music of the most *recherché* kind for at least three months in every year. The lover of sacred music is content to pass three summer hours in a large uncomfortable room, as one of a dense crowd that listens to an oratorio by Handel or by Mendelssohn.'

After pointing out the undoubted fact that England had in old times been eminent in music, and that there is no natural unfitness for music in the English temperament, the writer goes on :

'The antiquary . . . knows that the anti-musical tendencies which were so highly developed in the last century simply denoted an exceptional state of the British mind. As well might the Frenchman, born during the prevalence of the Revolutionary Calendar, regard the substitution of "1805" for "xiv," and the transformation of the 10th Nivôse into the 31st of December, as the introduction of an unheard-of novelty, as the Briton express astonishment at the passion for music manifested in his native island about the middle of the nineteenth century.'

It is curious to notice that there were concerts which would keep the amateur alive in music for three months of the year, and that this is considered a wonderful point to reach. There is nowadays no such thing as a period of three months during which public concerts are not given in London at the rate of some dozens a week.

It was indeed between the dates of these two articles that the movement which has been called the 'renaissance' of music in England began. It is probable that the Great Exhibition of 1851 had an indirect influence upon the revival ; for, although the musical arrangements at the Exhibition itself seem to have been far from ideal, yet the transference of the building to Sydenham led to the establishment of the Crystal Palace concerts, which were undoubtedly among the first and most important factors in the encouragement of music from a rational point of view. Music began to be looked at, not merely as a commercial employment on the one hand or a fashionable recreation on the other, but as an art intrinsically worthy of the best intellectual attention it could receive. While Manns gradually formed the rudimentary band of the Palace into a first-rate orchestra, Grove, by his personal enthusiasm for the best music, and his interesting and suggestive analytical programmes, formed the tastes of an audience that came from all quarters to enjoy the rare treat of regular orchestral concerts.

Not only was the stock orchestral repertory of the

classical symphonies kept systematically before the public, but new and newly discovered things, like the great works of Schubert, were brought forward; and the account of the enthusiasm which these created among the devoted musicians who journeyed week after week to Sydenham is the most interesting part of the volume of reminiscences by Mr Joseph Bennett, the eminent critic of the 'Daily Telegraph.' The even more important work of the Crystal Palace concerts, in the encouragement of native compositions, must be referred to later.

About the same time as the Crystal Palace concerts, were founded the Popular Concerts in St James' Hall, which kept the masterpieces of classical chamber-music before the world of London; for the patrons of chamber concerts before the date of the 'Pops' were almost exclusively drawn from wealthy and fashionable amateurs who were regular attendants at Ella's 'Musical Union' concerts and similar enterprises. It should not be forgotten that musical education is not exclusively concerned with instrumental music, though this is perhaps rightly considered as engaging more definitely intellectual powers than vocal music usually demands. There were various choral societies and the opera before the middle of the century—the Sacred Harmonic Society was founded so early as 1833—but neither the oratorio nor the opera could do much towards the regeneration of a real musical taste, although the choral societies in the north of England acquired wonderful proficiency in united singing. The institutions established for the performance of oratorio were rendered almost sterile in influence by the domination of foreign composers, from which this class of music suffered almost more than any other. Putting aside the question of musical merit, it must be conceded that the fetish-worship of Handel, to which our forefathers were prone, was barren of all useful influence in art. The indiscriminate reverence paid, in the earlier days, to all that he wrote gave place more recently to an equally silly admiration for one only of his oratorios, so that for many years the revival of any of the others but 'The Messiah' has been considered a hopeless experiment so far as financial results were to be considered. (The success of the 'Israel day' at the Crystal Palace was never as great as that of the 'Messiah day,' although

the conditions of the building were better suited to the former than to the latter work.) As a matter of fact, the worship of Handel was probably more intelligent and more sincere in the day of the Antient Concerts than in those of the monster Handel Festivals.

Long before the Handel fetish-worship had yielded to a more reasonable admiration for his best works, Mendelssohn had succeeded to a position of almost equal height; and, as in the case of the older master, one of his works was adored to the virtual exclusion of all the rest. It has never been discovered why the 'Elijah' has been taken into the 'great heart' of the British public and the 'St Paul' left outside. It is far easier to understand that the 'Lieder ohne Worte' should have stood for the whole of music in the esteem of the young ladies who were just able to play them; for they have variety, brevity, and the gentle suavity which, until it cloy, gives great pleasure. The period of Mendelssohn's position as an object of devotion was a good deal shorter than that of Handel; and shorter still was the reign of Charles Gounod, whose trumpety 'Redemption' threatened at one time to drive all other oratorios from the field. After this craze was over, the next inebriation of the public by a musical composition was effected by Sullivan's 'Golden Legend'; and the fact that here was an English work able to command even this rather hysterical enthusiasm is of itself a sign of national progress. In themselves all such ebullitions of ill-regulated popular admiration must do harm to musical progress in general, in that they keep back the production of new works and encourage that affection for the ultra-familiar of which average people in England are so oddly proud. The phrase 'I like music that I know' is nearly always used with a certain amount of complacency, as if the sad limitations it implies were a cause of congratulation. This attitude is one of the most serious drawbacks in our musical condition; and it seems to have struck very few people that it is hopelessly illogical. At some time or another even the music they now like best must have been new to them; and they do not see that, if they gave some of the new music a chance to be heard, they might conceivably make a new friend after a few repetitions.

The choral societies in the north of England and the

autumnal festivals in different large towns have not progressed quite as fast as some other organisations; but the renaissance has been felt even among them, and the younger composers have shown that there is something more to be desired than the old-fashioned conventional oratorio with its inevitable unaccompanied quartet, its set pieces, and its formal division into two parts or 'acts,' as they used to be called. The short choral ballad, of which the model is Stanford's 'Revenge,' the secular cantata, the most popular example of which is Sullivan's 'Golden Legend,' and the non-scriptural oratorio, such as Elgar's 'Dream of Gerontius' and the 'Everyman' of Walford Davies, have made the stiff oratorios and cantatas of the past seem terribly dull and antiquated.

The practice of commissioning works for festivals is one that has often been spoken against; and even Brahms felt it necessary to lift up his voice in protest. It certainly led many composers to work up religious feelings that were not always quite genuine; and it is true that no music written to order can be quite as good as what wells up from the heart in obedience to the inner artistic impulse. But the practice of commissioning works is not one that should be sneered at, for it provided the only opportunity for the young composer to get some experience in scoring and in conducting, and a little, though very little, money by other means than the giving of tiresome lessons to inattentive pupils. The power of scoring their works is one that has descended suddenly upon the whole school of English composers. As orchestral colour, in these latter days, has occupied more and more attention, so the younger men have attained more and more skill in its manipulation; and the writer who cannot score richly and with variety stands no chance of success, however good his design may be. Form is for the moment at a discount; but that it will come again into consideration is beyond all question.

Just as the oratorio as an institution did but little towards the awakening of the country to music, so the opera was almost entirely a dead letter, for the foreign domination spoken of in connexion with oratorio was even more tyrannical in the field of opera. Italian was the only language used at the regular houses; no one took the trouble to understand what the pieces were

about ; and even the favourite songs in each opera were of secondary importance in the minds of the audience as compared with the name of the *prima donna*. Throughout the world, ever since opera began in the seventeenth century, there has raged a continual war between those, on the one hand, who view it in its true light as a real branch of dramatic art, stimulating the emotions by the aid of music, but depending for its chief power upon the way in which the story is presented ; and, on the other, those who indulge the idea that it is mere frivolity, an opportunity for the display of high notes on the stage and of diamonds in front, or a stepping-stone into the fashionable world. The tentative beginnings of opera in Italy and Germany were corrupted into the conventional entertainments of Handel's day. Gluck's restoration of a classical simplicity and true eloquence was followed by the newer conventions of the Italians of the eighteenth century and the early nineteenth ; and after the undramatic productions of the Bellini-Donizetti school, Wagner once again demonstrated that art was better than artifice.

In all these oscillations of taste England, as represented in her operatic life, has been dominated by conventionality ; and the mere employment of a foreign tongue, which any reasonable person would suppose to be a stumbling-block to popularity, is of itself an attraction to the public. At various times, opera by English composers has fought its way to the ears of an audience sadly indifferent to its interests. The early 'operas' of the Shield, Kelly, and Bishop period were but incidental songs strung together on a very meagre thread of story, and cannot have been so far removed as we should like to think from the dreary 'musical comedy' of the present day. The greatest chance that English opera, meaning thereby opera composed originally in English and sung in that language, has ever had was undoubtedly in 1826, when Weber's 'Oberon' was brought out. In 1834 Barnett's 'Mountain Sylph' started a little series of productions in which Balfe, Macfarren, and Benedict were concerned ; in 1843 came 'The Bohemian Girl,' followed after two years by Wallace's 'Maritana' ; but, in spite of the great popularity of these works, very little more was done until the advent of the group of composers who have been called the Masters of the Renaissance.

We have referred to the convenient date of 1851 as the starting-point of the revival ; but it was not for some time after the Crystal Palace had been moved to Sydenham that the effect of its work began to be felt. The memorable performance in 1862 of Sullivan's first work, the beautiful music to 'The Tempest,' seems to have been the actual beginning of a new attitude in England towards music. Here was a young man, fresh from his studies, producing a thing of such beauty as could be understood by every one, such originality as told of a new voice in the world of art, and such dramatic appropriateness as made it a worthy accompaniment to the play. It may seem that, in thus naming Sullivan as the pioneer of the renaissance, we are ignoring the work of the men of the older generation, such as Hatton, Loder, Smart, Macfarren, Hugo Pierson, and, chief of them all, Sterndale Bennett ; but all of these suffered, and some of them were completely overwhelmed, by the conditions of music in the earlier part of the century. There was no kind of encouragement for the composition of music of a high order ; and Sterndale Bennett was the only one of his generation who wrote anything of enduring worth in the larger forms. As time went on, he was gradually driven by circumstances to become more and more the teacher of aristocratic young ladies, and had ever less and less time to develop his own beautiful ideas. His work, after the middle of the century, was of slight importance as compared with the music of his earlier life.

After the success of Sullivan's 'Tempest' music at the Crystal Palace, a tradition grew up there of encouraging the young men who came after him. While Sullivan was finding his true *métier* in the Savoy operas, which are no nearer being old-fashioned now than they were when they were written, the men who led the renaissance were beginning to make their personalities felt ; and by a curious coincidence the births of the five composers who were most prominent in the movement were covered by a period of five years from 1847 to 1852.

To attempt to apportion to each of the five leaders of the renaissance his exact share in the movement would be quite impossible ; it must suffice to say that Mackenzie, Parry, Goring Thomas, Stanford, and Cowen, did, as a matter of fact, bear the burden and heat of a day when

those who spoke of serious English compositions were looked at with a kindly smile of incredulity, excepting only on the occasions of the autumnal festivals, when, for a week at a time, it became the accepted thing that Englishmen should produce works of earnest aim. All these, excepting only Parry, contributed to the short revival of interest in English opera which took place under Carl Rosa at the beginning of the eighties; and, while the graceful 'Esmeralda' of Goring Thomas has had the honour of production in the fashionable opera season, some of the other works then given would well bear to be heard again. Great encouragement was also given to these men by the establishment of the orchestral concerts under Hans Richter, which, first started in 1877, exerted for many years an incalculable influence on English art, both in bringing forward unknown things of all countries and in producing symphonies and other works by the young Englishmen. Wagner selections of course formed a very large part of the programmes of the early Richter concerts; and the year 1882 saw the production of the greater part of the mature Wagner operas by two companies, one under Richter at Drury Lane, and the other under the management of Angelo Neumann at Her Majesty's Theatre, for the production of the 'Ring' with the original Bayreuth scenery and many of the Bayreuth singers. These two undertakings, neither of which was financially successful, not only put Wagner in a different position from that which he previously held in England, but got people into the way of treating opera seriously.

In one way or another the five leaders of the renaissance made it impossible that musical matters should ever again be quite what they were before in England. As Sullivan had demonstrated the possibility of writing light music that should yet satisfy the trained musician, so the grace of the orchestral music produced by Goring Thomas and Cowen showed the public that orchestral concerts need not be the solemn functions that they were commonly supposed to be. Mackenzie's romantic music opened the door to all sorts of poetical creations; and Stanford's wonderful skill in the manipulation of his resources in orchestra and choir, his versatility of style, his steady fulfilment of the highest ideals of art, together with the great work he did at Cambridge as a pioneer of

music, won him the appreciation of judicious people comparatively early in his career. Parry's music was longer than Stanford's in finding wide acceptance; at first the composer's love of logical development, a quality heretofore almost ignored in England, led him to adopt a style which was at first thought obscure; and it was not until the composition of the Miltonic ode, 'Blest Pair of Sirens,' that his position was definitely won. One of his most striking qualities is his power of accentuation in the matter of setting emphatic or unemphatic syllables to notes that are their exact equivalent. His songs have, whether consciously or not, set a standard; and nowadays faulty accentuation is almost an exception in songs of any kind of solid pretensions. His symphonies seem to those who know them best to be works of the very highest order, so full of inspiration and originality that much time and study are needed for their proper appreciation; but there can be no reasonable doubt that in the future there will be many more opportunities of hearing them than have been given in the past, more particularly now that another English symphony has attained so wide a popularity.

The foundation of the Royal College of Music, which rose from the ashes of the National Training School of Music in 1883, gave, under its enthusiastic first Principal, Sir George Grove, new opportunities to such talent as might be existing throughout the country. The project of uniting it with the Royal Academy of Music (which had been established in 1823) came to nothing; but the establishment of an 'Associated Board' for the purpose of examinations, etc., in which the two institutions joined, was sufficient evidence of the good feeling existing between them. The success of the College stirred up the authorities of the Academy, who were formerly a little easy-going and satisfied with small results. Under its present head, Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the older institution has proved itself a worthy companion to the newer. The two institutions, and others besides them, have done great things in educating the young members of the musical profession and raising the general standard of their mental condition. As a matter of course, the enormous amount of talent discovered and fostered by the institutions has led to an overcrowding of the professional

ranks, and to many evils that are inevitably consequent upon overcrowding. But, as the skill and intellectuality of the students have increased by leaps and bounds, so has the taste for music on the part of the public. Whatever branch of musical life we consider, we shall see that higher views are taken of the art. There is greater breadth of outlook, wider and more penetrating discrimination; and, as a not unpleasing result of the rise in general culture, there is now far less of the Bohemianism which in former days made many respectable persons shrink from contact with the musical profession.

Some idea may be obtained of the growth in musical taste by a brief reference to the various crazes that have possessed the British public from time to time. A singer, from Handel's day onwards, has almost always been able to create a *furor*; and from the times of Faustina and Cuzzoni, through the Jenny Lind fever of 1847, to the times of Melba and Tetrazzini, we always seem ready to lose our artistic balance in an adoration in which fulsome devotion, feverish admiration alike for the faults and merits of the performance, and a silly school-girl kind of 'gush' are mixed in equal proportions. But the successive attacks of this mania in regard to other classes of musicians, although all may be ludicrous, do yet show an upward tendency. The vogue of great executants on the pianoforte, from Liszt and Rubinstein to Paderewski, was followed, indeed, by the extremely foolish and harmful worship of infantile performers; but to this succeeded a far more reasonable habit of admiring the conductors of orchestras, a taste which led at last to some attention being given to the music they conducted, and to the art of orchestral colouring. The extraordinary vogue of Tchaikovsky's 'Pathetic' symphony in London would have been quite impossible before the revival of true musical taste in England; and, just at the present moment, the career of Sir Edward Elgar, which has apparently reached its culmination in his new symphony, is engrossing the attention of the public at large to an extent that could not have been imagined fifty or even twenty years ago. What Sterndale Bennett might have achieved had he enjoyed one-hundredth part of the opportunities showered on Elgar, cannot be guessed; but the two careers afford a striking contrast to each other,

and one that is certainly eloquent of the great favour now bestowed on music in England.

We have not yet lost the habit of artistic hospitality referred to in the extract quoted above from the 'Quarterly Review' of 1848. In no country outside their own has a heartier or more lucrative welcome been extended to the great masters of the Continent than in England. The music of Wagner, Brahms, Tchaikovsky, Grieg, Dvořák, and a host of lesser names, has found here sympathetic and discerning admiration to an extent beyond that existing in any country foreign to the composers. Continental singers, it is true, must now be at least as good as English, if they are to succeed at all in the present day in London; but, when they do succeed, they still command far higher prices as a rule than do the native artists.

In passing in review the circumstances of our modern musical life, it is obvious that one important department of music has not been mentioned—the music of the Church. In that alone was there any opportunity for the older composer, who fared but ill in the early days if he failed to gain a position as organist. Once installed in his organ-loft he was usually unconscious of the trend of music in general; immersed in the study (let us hope) of the glorious cathedral music of his country, he had little time to give to what was going on in the outer world. This hide-bound conservatism had the result of keeping the music of the Church more or less where it was in older days; and many of the men who held important posts as cathedral organists were really eminent and artistic composers. The Wesleys (father and son), Attwood, Goss, Walmisley, and many others, produced work which deserves to keep its place in living music. But the race of these organists remained almost entirely apart from the music of the world in general; and even Sir F. A. Gore Ouseley seems to us nowadays as hardly less confined in outlook than they, and therefore, as a man, hampered in his influence on his contemporaries.

The products of this 'organ-loft' point of view are almost exactly analogous to what Wagner called 'Kapellmeistermusik'—that is, music produced, not in response to an inward inspiration, but as a consequence of the circumstances in which the men found themselves.

They found it convenient and profitable to write anthems and services because they were organists, not because their souls were filled with genuine devotion or any sense of their responsibilities. This degenerate state of things, and the general ignorance of the course of music, made the organists an easy prey to the invasion of the sugary music which, about the time of the Tractarian movement, came from France. They exchanged their stiff conservatism for a bastard kind of eclecticism, which has led to even worse results than the other attitude. The admirers of Gounod soon found it easy enough to adopt his methods of pleasing the public; and the purveyors of popular hymn-tunes and anthems drove a roaring trade for many years, their successors not having even yet quite lost the trick of supplying what is desired by a small section of worshippers. But the gradual growth of a knowledge of the old Church music, the more rational and scientific way of studying the ecclesiastical modes and the secrets of Gregorian music, and the establishment of societies like the Plain-Song and Medieval Music Society, or the Church Music Society, have already done much to check the downward progress which has been going on simultaneously with the revival of music outside the Church's boundaries.

Sir Charles Stanford has a remarkable passage on the whole question of English Church music, pointing out the appalling preponderance of sugary anthems, etc., over compositions of acknowledged merit; and a trenchant (perhaps too trenchant) criticism in Dr Walker's able 'History of Music in England' has lashed a certain section of the musical world to fury. This section, representing the commercial interests of music, naturally views with distrust the interference of any outsider into matters which are supposed to concern only those actually engaged in the trade. Their interest in music is almost purely commercial; and, so far as they exert any influence at all, it is all used against the progress of the art. The commercial spirit which they exemplify has of course arisen in its full power only since the practice of music, or its prostitution, has seemed financially profitable. On all sides there are traces of the harm it has done; and this is, we must admit, a direct consequence of the revival of public interest in music. It is perhaps inevit-

able that the young people who are turned out of the music-schools by the hundred should be easily tempted to degrade their art in the various ways that are suggested to them; and the only wonder is that the artistic convictions which many of them hold should be strong enough to make them choose a life of poverty rather than yield to the allurements of the tempter, whether he come in the guise of the publisher who is willing to pay for the popularisation of some worthless song, the piano-manufacturer who takes the risk of a public concert in order that his own goods may be exhibited on the platform, or the concert-giver who exacts a fee for allowing the young performer to make a public appearance in company with some really distinguished artist. All these crimes against the purity of art have sprung into existence as the deplorable result of the revival of music amongst us; but the revival is not to be seriously regretted on that account.

There are other directions in which musical activity has found employment; and the archæological researches of Englishmen are not unworthy to be set beside those which have been carried on longer in Germany and other parts of the Continent. We had much to learn in this direction in the past; but now our own musical antiquaries can hold their own with those of any nation. The rich treasures which lay hidden for centuries in English libraries have been searched to some purpose, and now only await the foundation and endowment of some national undertaking like the 'Denkmäler Deutscher Tonkunst,' and kindred publications, which have done so much to keep alive the music of the obscurer continental composers. Almost our only attempt, so far, to copy the excellent example set in Germany has been the Purcell Society, which is gradually raising a worthy tribute to the memory of that great master. Interest in old instruments, too, has vastly increased, and has also become more thorough and scientific; in this connexion it would be wrong to omit any mention of the name of A. J. Hipkins, whose practical knowledge, faultless taste, and scientific attainments did so much to foster a desire to revive musical performances under the original conditions, and to restore the existing instruments to something approaching their first state.

In 1871 there appeared yet another article on musical books in this Review. The books noticed were Helmholtz's 'Lehre von den Tonempfindungen,' Fétis's 'Histoire générale,' Beauquier's 'Philosophie de la Musique,' and two books by John Hullah, the 'History of Modern Music' and 'Lectures on the Transition Period of Musical History.' By this time the name of Sebastian Bach, unmentioned in the earlier reviews from which quotation has been made, comes prominently forward; and, when we remember that the whole treasury of his music was not made accessible until the completion of the great edition of his works in 1899, we may congratulate ourselves that we were not so very far behind the Continent in our veneration for this giant among composers. Various incidental references are made in this article to the state of music at the time, whence it is clear that the ferment of the early renaissance was already at work. There are lists of the concerts given in London, among which it seemed worth while to enumerate the Philharmonic and Crystal Palace only among orchestral undertakings, and, among chamber concerts, the Popular Concerts, the Musical Union, and Holmes' Musical Evenings. Leslie's Choir, the Sacred Harmonic Society, and Barnby's Choir represent choral societies in the list; for the Bach Choir was not in existence until four years after this date, when its memorable production of the great master's Mass in B minor led to the project of placing the choir specially formed for that purpose on a permanent footing. The writer puts his finger on a drawback which is still felt as a hindrance to musical progress. 'There is,' he says, 'plenty of private enterprise, but there is great want of union, of system, of organisation, and we must add of generosity and goodwill.' Of course all this is not nearly as bad as it was in 1871, but there is still plenty of room for improvement, and of generosity and goodwill we hear less than ever. The writer is as little expectant as his predecessor of the actual production of anything worth hearing by an English composer.

'All attempts to prove the existence of a real English school of music for the last two hundred years must of course fail [notice "of course"]. We are speaking of its actual products [those of England], not of its latent capacities. . . . Now once

again there is a great musical impulse in England. This time it comes from Germany. We have at this moment a number of talented English composers living, from Cipriani Potter and Sterndale Bennett to Arthur Sullivan, composing German music in England.'

The notion that, though England may produce exponents, as she has always provided listeners, yet she must never expect the advent of a good, still less of a great composer, is one that is even now not quite extinct, notwithstanding all the success that has attended the production of various English compositions. It will amuse some readers to learn that Sullivan was at one time accused of writing German music, for he was afterwards regarded as the one brilliant exception to the race of German-trained composers, and as the single representative of indigenous art. In the case of Sullivan, the charge is obviously inappropriate; and it is possible that similar accusations may have been brought against other composers with quite as little justice. We should say nowadays that, though Sullivan may not perhaps have come in the way of many 'temptations to belong to other nations,' yet he did 'remain an Englishman' in his music. It is, in truth, the most obvious weapon to use, when a writer who is not quite certain of his ground wishes to criticise a countryman, to allege this sort of indebtedness to his predecessors. The charge has that grain of truth in it which helps to carry it further than it deserves; for every artist who ever lived has been influenced by some one before him. As Sir Charles Stanford says, 'Bach without Schütz and Buxtehude, Beethoven without Haydn and Mozart, Wagner without Gluck and Weber—the instances are countless and incontrovertible—would have been impossibilities.'

It will be observed that all the composers named in this passage, both the great disciples and their predecessors, belong to one country; and the supremacy of Germany over the music of the world is a fact which we can no more get over than we can contradict the other fact that, for a period exactly corresponding in length with the time of that supremacy, Italian painting was the best in the world. Whether Germany is any more to be regarded as supreme in music may very well be doubted in the present day. Beside the two persons who 'count'

in the German music of the present day, there is hardly a composer of any kind of eminence at all; and, as compared with the contemporary schools of France and England, the once glorious school of Germany seems to have become exhausted. But the influence which German masters must have exercised on the younger men of all countries is of course the most natural thing in the world. Such influence could have been derived from no other quarter since the days when Italian madrigals were imported into England for Englishmen to develope and glorify. The influences on any clever young man of twenty or thirty years ago could not fail to be mainly German; Italian opera was dead, and French music seemed to be dissolved in an ocean of *eau sucrée*. Like the Russians, our own composers have had to emancipate themselves from German influences, though at present with less general recognition of the fact that they have done so. The increasingly scientific study of our own folk-songs has helped in no small measure to encourage the realisation of national characteristics, which were there long before it was discovered that England possessed a splendid body of folk-music. Qualities which, in Sir Hubert Parry's works, for example, have delighted lovers of English music for many years are now found to be identical with some of the finest characteristics of English folk-song; and, although Irish and Scottish folk-music had been analysed and made accessible long before the time of Stanford and Mackenzie, yet their adoption of the style of their own nations was obviously a natural return to the soil, not the assumption of a fancy dress.

None of these composers has soaked himself so thoroughly as did Grieg in national mannerisms. Our own men are not always in the native costume, which Grieg never once put off; but in their compositions in the sphere of absolute music, and without external reference to nationality, there is still the trace of each man's race; and all through the line, from Sullivan to Elgar, it is no longer possible to say that British music is a mere reflection of German. Whether it ever was so may be doubted; but Sterndale Bennett's admiration for Mendelssohn no doubt led him into certain habits of phrase and idioms of style that recalled those of the popular German composer. Mendelssohn never got over the delusion that a platitude,

if repeated often enough, becomes an epigram; and there are cases in which Bennett saw no more clearly than he. The influence of Wagner on the art of the day has been naturally of great importance, for he was one of the men who are rightly called 'epoch-making.' Since his day, music for the stage must ever be different from what it was before; and no single dramatic writer of any country has omitted to take possession of the vast expanse that Wagner conquered for his art. His professed enemies were compelled to adopt some of his theories; and even Sullivan did not wholly escape his influence, for neither 'The Golden Legend' nor 'Ivanhoe' would have been exactly what they are if Wagner had not lived. The new French school, through the medium of its great pioneer, César Franck, owes more to Wagner than to any one else; and, whether they like to admit it or not, the French composers have translated Wagner's methods into their own musical language in precisely the same way as Verdi did in his later works, rendering Wagner into his own Italian idioms.

In quite recent years various measures have been taken, not before they were wanted, to put English composers, especially the young men and women who are most in earnest about their work, on some sort of an equality as to chances with the composers of other countries. A certain concert given in 1896 by six of the younger English composers in conjunction (Messrs Granville Bantock, William Wallace, Erskine Allon, Reginald Steggall, Stanley Hawley, and Arthur Hinton) was a financial failure, as might have been expected; but it drew the attention of the musical world to the fact that there was a school arising, and that the work of the leaders was likely to be carried on by a numerous band of followers. The Society of British Composers was a definite step in the same direction; and a glance at the list of its members is enough to prove that there are upwards of fifty people, all, or nearly all, of whom have shown themselves more than competent, and some of whom have attained real distinction as composers.* An important encouragement of rising talent is the 'Patron's Fund'

* It may be worth pointing out that this list does not include the names of any of the regular purveyors of 'shop songs' or flimsy piano pieces.

of the Royal College of Music, a munificent gift, which has benefited all the music schools impartially, and has brought forward many young writers of merit who must otherwise have languished in obscurity until they died from privation and want of encouragement, like one of the best of the younger men, the late W. Y. Hurlstone. The institution of a prize for short pieces of chamber-music, and the occasional prize offered for operatic competition, have done good; but it is a commonplace to remark that, from no fault or prejudice on the part of the judges, the best men do not always gain the prize. Whether this be so or not, the fact remains that the opportunities which a young musician, composer, or executant enjoys to-day are a thousandfold more than they were a hundred or even fifty years ago.

It may be said that the mere enumeration of opportunities or the lists of those who exercise the profession of musical composer, are in no way to be considered as evidence of actual achievement that will last. The only answer to this is to give as illustrations of the best things in the modern English school the names of certain well-known works which will readily occur to the memory of any one already interested in the music of his country. To make such a list in any other country but England would be absurd, for in France, in Germany, in Italy, in Russia, and, in short, all over the civilised world, the man in the street knows the names of the chief musical products of his nation, and takes a natural if perhaps an excessive pride in them. It is only in England that there has reigned, down to the year 1908, a profound conviction that there was no such thing as English music. In this respect, however, things have changed so suddenly and so completely that it seems worth while to call to mind some of the best of the compositions that preceded Sir Edward Elgar's famous symphony; since there is a real danger of our forgetting the fact that he himself had previously written successful music, and that there are other composers of the English school. It is, of course, unlikely that any two persons, attempting to make an informal list of the things they think most remarkable, would make exactly the same list, or that any attempt at such a list could please everybody; but up to the present time people in

general have been so indifferent to the course of English music that any attempt, however imperfectly carried out, may remind readers of compositions that have given them pleasure in the past.

It is hardly necessary, in the first place, to point out the various excellences of the Savoy operas of Gilbert and Sullivan. These established a *genre* quite peculiar to England, and one upon which we may well pique ourselves. Sullivan's 'Golden Legend' had a long and prosperous career, and went far to compensate the musical world for the dreadful royalty-ballads and hymn-tunes which the composer consented from time to time to write. The work which ranks perhaps highest among Mackenzie's compositions is the breezy 'Britannia' overture; and its vein of humour came out again in the single opera he contributed to the Savoy repertory, 'His Majesty'; his serious opera, 'Colomba,' the poetical 'Belle Dame sans Merci,' and the Scottish Rhapsodies for orchestra, are examples of his power of treating romantic subjects. Two of Parry's four symphonies (the 'Cambridge' in F and the 'English' in C), and three of Stanford's six ('Elegiac,' 'Irish,' and 'Milton'), are noble specimens of the symphonic form, exhibiting points of interest in their various modifications of the stereotyped pattern; another most fruitful modification of the usual design is to be found in Parry's 'Characteristic Variations' for orchestra. Among Elgar's works none has reached a higher level of excellence than his 'Orchestral Variations,' the actual theme of which is an unsolved enigma. The choral works of these three composers have taken hold upon a wider public than that to which purely orchestral compositions appeal. It is only necessary to mention Parry's 'Blest Pair of Sirens,' 'Judith,' 'Job,' 'King Saul,' and the long series of devotional or contemplative cantatas which for some time were an annual attraction of the autumnal festivals—Stanford's 'Revenge,' 'Voyage of Maeldune,' 'Requiem,' 'Te Deum,' 'Stabat Mater'; Elgar's 'Dream of Gerontius,' 'Kingdom,' and 'Apostles'; Coleridge-Taylor's 'Hiawatha'; Walford Davies' 'Everyman'—to show that a greater amount of recognition has been bestowed upon choral works than upon any class of composition by the Englishmen. Of the five operas by Stanford that have been performed, only one, 'Shamus

O'Brien,' has yet met with the success that all deserve. Parry and Elgar have not hitherto attacked the strongholds of the enemy by writing operas; and one of the most original, vivid, and beautiful operas the world has produced since the days of Wagner and Verdi, Miss Smyth's 'Wreckers,' has only as yet been given upon the German stage. In the smaller forms of chamber-music, songs, etc., these composers and their followers have done things that deserve to be remembered.

Whether the 'fantasy' type of concerted piece, encouraged by the Cobbett prize, will take the place of the older pattern, remains to be seen; its aim is to provide something not quite as long as the classical quartets or trios, something not divided into separate movements, but changing its *tempo* and character according to the composer's fancy. Whether the newer ideas gain ground or not, the fact remains that the offer of a prize did serve to bring forward a surprising amount of original talent among the younger writers. It is obvious to any one who observes the tendency of music in this country that the general upheaval of old ideals which has been going on in other countries has not left England unmoved. It is perhaps too early as yet to trace the various influences that have caused what really looks like an artistic revolution in France and Germany. It is probably something more than a coincidence that in both countries some of the most original of the younger writers have adopted a style which strikes the student of the classics as being not only devoid of any recognisable form or design, but as lacking any perception of beauty, of melody, or harmony. This is of course the crudest way of expressing what most people of taste must have felt when they first heard music by Richard Strauss or Max Reger in Germany, of Debussy or Ravel in France. Beside the mere creation of an impression or an 'atmosphere,' which is present in the music of most of these leaders of the new school on the Continent, there is to be discerned, often very dimly, some notion of design; but with those of our own young men who affect the succession of unrelated discords, or who imitate the various devices of the continental revolutionaries, no such glimmerings of intention are to be perceived. Still, all the fermentation that seems to be going on among the younger men is a

sign of their real vitality in the art they misunderstand ; and, when they have sown their wild oats, we may expect good work, if not great things, from some of them. Their vagaries may not be a very satisfactory sign, but they prove that there is a vigorous artistic life among us.

That England has become again a musical country is, then, abundantly clear. The phrase 'a musical country' does not mean that every child in it is a performer or a composer, but that a knowledge and love of music are so widely diffused among its inhabitants that there is nothing exceptional in a musical allusion being made in general conversation, and that a person entirely lacking in musical perceptions is considered as rather to be pitied. Although music-publishers are still sadly lacking in enterprise, and we are still indifferent enough to the true interests of the art to allow music to regale us while we eat, yet there are everywhere unmistakable signs that we are not as we were fifty years ago. The mechanical piano, it may be said by a cynically disposed person, has left the streets for the drawing-room, and so has had a rise in life ; but the vogue of appliances like the pianola is in part a sign that music of some sort or other is wanted in the household. By their means people who had no chance of knowing anything about music other than the usual drawing-room piece, are becoming acquainted with the outlines, at all events, of the great masters' creations. It will probably be long before the commercialism and professionalism of the present day cease to defile the holy places of music ; but, in spite of these, and of other shortcomings which did not exist a hundred years ago, our general state is incomparably more satisfactory than it was ; and the outlook for the future enables us with some confidence to say 'E pur si muove.'

J. A. FULLER MAITLAND.

Art. 10.—INNOCENT THE GREAT.

1. *Innocent III—Rome et l'Italie: La Croisade des Albigeois: La Papauté et l'Empire: La Question d'Orient: Les Royautés Vassales du Saint-Siège: Le Concile de Latran et la réforme de l'Eglise.* Par Achille Luchaire, Membre de l'Institut. Vols. I-VI. Paris: Hachette, 1906-9.
2. *Innocent the Great.* By C. H. C. Pirie-Gordon. London: Longmans, 1907.
3. *The History of Freedom, and other Essays.* By the first Lord Acton. Edited by J. Neville Figgis and R. Vere Lawrence. London: Macmillan, 1907.

FAR as we have travelled from Voltaire's contemptuous ignorance of the Middle Ages, it may be doubted whether many Englishmen grasp their meaning as a distinct historical period, or know by what lines of descent our own institutions are related to them. Our classical training leaves an impression, faint, perhaps, yet not altogether mistaken, which enables the educated class to enter into the life and appropriate the leading thoughts of the men of Athens or old Rome. But literature as well as philosophy is tempted to spring lightly over the thousand years that separate Claudian from Erasmus. One incomparable name shines lonely in the mediæval firmament, compelling every eye to acknowledge it—the name of Dante. Yet his isolation does but serve to bring out by contrast the denser gloom in which popes and emperors, schoolmen and saints, crusaders, visionaries, and even nonconforming sectaries themselves, are lost to the modern imagination. Such has been the triumph of the Renaissance, making a clean sweep and a new departure; for in the Vatican as in the Louvre, and at Oxford no less than at Berlin, it is still the age of Leo X. The Medicean pope reigns by virtue of his kinship with antiquity, while his predecessors have mostly become the shadows of a time which is utterly strange to us.

Political movements now going forward seem to bear out this contention. If we turn upon them a discerning gaze, instructed by principles of comparison, we shall discover amid all their entanglements that everywhere

the Imperial Democracy of Aurelian or Diocletian is winning a victory over freedom, as freedom was understood by our ancestors, by the clerks and barons who wrested the Great Charter from King John. One idea, in which these men shared, was common to the Parliament of Paris, the Lombard and Hanseatic Leagues, the cities of Tuscany and Flanders; to the vast religious corporations, the universities, guilds, and military orders; an idea which gave the Pope continual advantage in his struggle with the Empire. It was the idea of franchise, or of liberty founded on law. That liberty could not be lessened by any authority, however sacred, without consent of those who had made it their own. In the judgment of so capable a scholar as the late Lord Acton, our English freedom, unlike as it is to the democratic or imperial bureaucracy which prevails abroad, has its root deep in the Middle Ages; and our chief problems in public order arise from the opposition between what is left of it and the Roman Law, disguised under a thousand forms, but ever the enemy of individual rights and corporate privileges. Freedom is the genius of the Barbarians turned Christian; absolute power is a revival of Paganism.

Had we a true version of the period which opens with Hildebrand on one side, and the German Emperor, Henry IV, on the other, and which may be said to close with Boniface VIII, outraged at Anagni by Philip the Fair, we should see proceeding on the world-stage a mighty drama, the plot of which concerns us deeply still. Of that 'Haupt-und-Staatsaction,' as Schiller would term it, the central scenes belong to Innocent III, who is their protagonist, meeting every adverse influence like the citizen of another and more heavenly realm. He embodies in his own person the papal theocracy. From Gregory VII he inherits a view of his prerogatives which binds into one extraordinary power—the power of the keys—offices most various and unequal, touching the life of mankind at innumerable points, and making him the supreme arbiter between kings and nations. Did he acknowledge no other divine right, the situation would be as simple as it was magnificent. But he admits the Emperor's right, and the people's; the right of Jews to practise their religion, of political bodies to elect their

rulers, of clerics and feudal lords to enjoy their lands, revenues, inherited grants. Before he can act he must argue and prove that he is entitled to proceed. He writes three thousand four hundred letters; they are pleadings at the bar of public opinion, as at Christ's judgment seat. He does not appeal to force until he has done his utmost to persuade conscience. The struggle of rights, each maintaining that it is divine, becomes the knot of this tragic story, with its *dénouement* foreshadowed when the curtain falls.

Of late years we may congratulate ourselves on the lucid and constantly impartial narratives which we owe to French students of early or medieval Church history. Monsignor Duchesne was a pioneer with his '*Liber Pontificalis*' and his researches into the origin of the Pope's temporal dominion; and he has had successors not less deserving of our gratitude than himself. Among them M. Luchaire, who died on November 13, 1908, leaving a vacancy which will not soon be filled, was perhaps the most remarkable. M. Luchaire made a reputation thirty years ago by his monographs on the languages of Aquitaine and Gascony. He then took up the problem of monarchical institutions under the first Capetians, on which his published volumes are held to be a masterpiece. The researches to which we are indebted for his '*Annals of Louis VI*' appear to have well-nigh exhausted a difficult subject. To the '*History of France*,' edited by M. Lavissee, he contributed two volumes on the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, which were hailed by experts as throwing new light on the period, especially as regarded Philip Augustus. But for the general reader his chief monument will be that fine study of Innocent III, of which the sixth and concluding volume was given to the world only a few days before its author passed away. Founded on Innocent's '*Regesta*'—a series of vellum books preserved in the Vatican, beautifully written, and illustrated marginally with quaint conceits—the story is accurately told; and M. Luchaire's judgment is, with due qualification, favourable to the Augustus Cæsar of the Papacy. If we believe, as Lord Acton did, that 'history is the conscience of mankind,' we shall rejoice whenever a great personage, like the most famous Pope of the house of Conti, rises into view unstained by crime, loyal to his

sense of righteousness, and worthy to be admired even though we cannot praise all that he attempted.

There is something more. Innocent's policy, which seemed in its day such a gain to the Church—as it did beyond question defer the victories of Protestantism for three hundred years—proved, through his quarrel with the rulers of the Empire, a mighty lever to break medieval Christendom in twain; while, in destroying the Albigensians, he so increased the French monarchy as to prepare the way for its encroachments on the Popes a century afterwards. His reign has therefore a significance unknown to himself. He carries a stage forward that problem of the relations between Church and State which, remaining perpetually open, must ever be solved by compromises or a *modus vivendi* in which its conditions change, develope, and leave to the next generation a disputed inheritance. These are the ironies of history, not without pathos, which reveal the loftier mind, the 'oversoul,' to speak in ambiguous terms, controlling its fortunes.

M. Luchaire proves, by his admirable though brief observations on the general principles involved in the career of Innocent III, that his researches might have ended in philosophy. But he refrains from speculation; he is chary of rhetoric; and, if Hurter was more of an apologist, Milman more eloquent, and Gregorovius more picturesque, the French writer seems to keep an even way, neither Guelf nor Ghibelline, concerned only to shed all the light that is possible on a vanished world. Now for the story itself, which an Oxford essayist, Mr Pirie-Gordon, has also elucidated by his valuable tables of pedigrees and dates, and his lively though somewhat wayward comments on the letters and acts of 'Innocent the Great.'

Lothar dei Conti was born in 1160 or 1161 at Segni, or perhaps at Gavignano, in the wild Hernican mountains, beside the Latin Way to Naples. His father's people were of Lombard origin, and 'Counts' of the Campagna from the tenth century. His mother's house, the Scotti, was Roman, fiercely opposed to the Orsini, whom these rival chiefs fought in the open street. A cleric almost from childhood, the young man left Rome to pursue his

theological studies at Paris under Pierre de Corbeil, for whom, as Pope, he procured the see of Cambrai in 1199. A year later he gave him the more desirable archbishopric of Sens, disregarding not only the voice of the canons, but Philip Augustus himself. Innocent ascribed to the greatest of medieval universities all that he knew. He defended it against the Bishop of Paris, drew out its code of discipline, and by his arbitration in 1213 strengthened its independence. The papal wisdom taught him that local authorities, such as those of Notre Dame, should be limited by free corporations set up against them; but he cherished a genuine affection for his old school. At Bologna he took his degree in Civil and Canon Law. He became prebend of St Peter's at Rome, and in 1190 was made cardinal deacon, at the age of twenty-nine, by his uncle Clement III. He wrote his celebrated treatise, 'De Contemptu Mundi,' and other works of a mystical turn (which exhibit nothing characteristic beyond a love for far-fetched applications of holy Scripture), during the interval when Coelestine III, who was not his friend, occupied St Peter's chair. That pontiff was eager to pass on the succession, by a stretch of prerogative, to Cardinal Colonna. But the Sacred College would not hear of it. Coelestine expired on January 8, 1198; and the same day beheld the election of Innocent III. He was only thirty-seven.

Two portraits are left of him which connoisseurs allow to be genuine. One is a mosaic in the Villa Torlonia at Poli; the other a painting which all those will remember who have enjoyed the happiness of a visit to the Sagro Speco—the underground chapel at Subiaco. We may imagine Innocent as somewhat below the middle height, with full cheeks and youthful expression, his eyebrows well defined, his features regular. He had a fluency of speech and a telling voice, the echo of which seems audible in his correspondence, where he never hesitates for a word. Elected at the Septizonium of Severus, enthroned with pomp in the Lateran, he preached to the crowds on the dignity of his office and the lowliness of his person. But he claimed that day, as always, the two-fold sovereignty which mitre and tiara symbolised. Rome, since the age of Pope Sylvester, he affirmed, was the apostolic, the Imperial city, given, with

all the West, by Constantine to the Pope, who had cleansed him in baptism from leprosy. The priesthood was above the Empire. This doctrine, accepted as the corner-stone of Christendom by the people no less than the clergy, had received in Innocent's life-time the seal of a martyr's blood, when Thomas Becket fell on the pavement of Canterbury Cathedral in 1170, and of an emperor's submission, when in 1177 Barbarossa knelt at the feet of Alexander III, under the portico of St Mark's at Venice. Moreover, he had seen Italy invaded, Sicily subdued, and unspeakable horrors perpetrated by the 'wild boar out of the wood,' Henry VI, Barbarossa's heir and successor, who maintained that a German Cæsar could do as he chose, being responsible to no man but to God alone. Now Canon Law had ever been a standing protest against arbitrary power; but here was the civil code of Justinian interpreted by lawyers so as to sweep away the liberties which Italian towns had won after hard fighting, and to plant the Church's enemy north and south of Rome, while he claimed to be master inside its walls.

Henry VI, whom Joachim, Abbot of Flora, styled the 'Hammer of the World,' was now dead. Twice he had been excommunicated. He left his infant son, Frederick II of Sicily, to bear the consequences of his own guilt. His brother, Philip, tyrannised over the centre of Italy as Duke of Tuscany. Conrad lorded it in Umbria, Markward in the march of Ancona, Diephold at Acerra—soldiers of fortune who meant to carve out for themselves principalities in a sunny land. Of these Markward, the most treacherous and powerful, insisted that by Henry's will he had been appointed guardian of the child Frederick. All alike, they were uncivilised freebooters, whose only conception of ruling was violence exercised on the Italians they scorned. But Innocent, a Roman after the stamp of Hildebrand, was not minded to suffer these Teutons in his neighbourhood; and he held that Sicily—the whole south which Guiscard left to his descendants—was a fief of Holy Church. In acting as Pope he would be proving himself a patriot. Not for one instant did he shrink from the enterprise, undertaken so many times down to the middle of the nineteenth century when at last it succeeded, of driving the Barbarians across the Alps. Dean Milman judges that

the cause of the Guelfs was at this time 'the cause of freedom and humanity.' M. Luchaire adds that never had the Papacy been so close to total ruin as when the Emperor Henry VI held the Peninsula, together with Sicily, in his grasp. The Ghibelline faction could not be deemed a support of religion, and it did not make for liberty, but, as Michelet truly said, for despotism.

By the skilful use of treasure, arms, and excommunication, Innocent, stirring up the people from Rome to the gates of Ravenna (which alone stood out against him under its Imperialist archbishop), delivered central Italy. Markward withdrew to the south; Conrad gave up his usurped dominions and fled into Germany. The Lombard League, which owed its former glories to Alexander III, sprang into new life. The Tuscan League was approved, but with a warning that, as heir to the Countess Matilda, St Peter should be its suzerain. Pisa, never submissive to Rome, fell under interdict; while Henry's widow disowned Markward, requested from the Pope her little son's investiture as liege of the Holy See, and, dying, bequeathed him to Innocent as his guardian. War and confusion followed. Markward, repeatedly excommunicate, gave battle to the Catholic champions near Monreale, July 21, 1200, and was defeated. Innocent had called to his aid (so it appears) Walter de Brienne, who claimed in his wife's name to be Prince of Taranto. It was a hazardous expedient. Though Walter put to flight Diephold and the Sicilian chancellor on the plains of Cannæ, yet Markward contrived to take Palermo, seized the boy-king, and became master of the Island up to Messina.

The Pope fought him by letters and alliances, but with scant success. In 1202 the fierce adventurer died of an operation; but Capparone occupied his place and kept Frederick a prisoner. Four years of anarchy ensued. Walter de Brienne died in 1205, the wounded captive of Diephold, who then himself submitted to the Pope, entered Palermo and gave up Frederick to his legate. By 1208 resistance to Rome had lost its vigour. Next year Innocent had the Sicilian king married, in his fifteenth year, to Constance of Aragon. He drove out Conrad of Marlenheim from Sora, which was made into a fief of the Vatican, to be held by Innocent's brother, Richard of Segni. The

meaning of papal 'nepotism' comes out clearly in this transaction. A strong clan, if devoted to St Peter and in possession of large estates, would hold the Germans in check, furnish a refuge if the Pope should be compelled to quit Rome, and make head against rebellious municipalities. Richard of Segni was a pale forecast of Cæsar Borgia. Yet he lent some assistance, in conjunction with favourable circumstances, to Innocent, who was now establishing what is called improperly the Temporal Power on the ruins created by German marauders and Roman faction-fighting.

In the spring of 1208 Innocent travelled on progress to Anagni, San Germano, and Sora. He drew up regulations for Apulia and Sicily in imperial style. He had done his utmost to curb the everlasting rivalries, plots, and murderous engagements which gave to the Italian cities of this period so forbidding a likeness to the old Greek towns; and Cremona, Piacenza, Alessandria, Milan, felt his displeasure. Even to win their liberties from the hated *Tedeschi*, there was among the hundred cities of the Peninsula no national movement conceivable, either at this time or long afterwards. But in Rome especially the spirit of disunion prevailed. Rome, with its towers past counting; its brigands entrenched in the baths, temples, circuses, of which the mighty masses remaining defied assault; its men-at-arms living by daily war; its restless and untameable populace, always on the look-out for quarrels, had submitted to the Pope's interference only when it could not do without him, and always clung to its republican idea. Romans in revolt had killed Lucius II on the Capitol; from Innocent II in 1143 they had wrested the right of appointing the Senate, by which the people got Home Rule. They had supported Arnold of Brescia, the clerical reformer, whom Hadrian IV executed. Eugenius III, either in exile or helpless at the Lateran, could wield no temporal prerogatives. Alexander III had to flee from Rome; Urban III and Gregory VIII never set foot in it. In 1188 Clement III came to terms with his proud subjects. They allowed his authority over Senate and people, who were to take an oath of homage and defend the Church's estates. The Pope coined money as an outward sign of dominion; the heads of the city militia swore fealty to him; but the

Commune was recognised, and Tusculum, the rival detested by Rome, should be destroyed. There were fifty-six senators; and from 1191 to 1193 a dictator, Carusomo, governed without any regard to the Pope.

No sooner was Innocent elected than he set about changing this order of things. He understood the Romans well, and he meant to hold the wolf of Romulus by the ears. Dismissing the sole senator, he put his own men into office, invested the Prefect, Pietro de Vico, hitherto a Ghibelline, with the mantle instead of the sword, bound him by a particular oath to the Holy See, and took the homage of certain barons. He would give no general 'donative'; those who received it became his liegemen. But he found resistance from the Pierleoni, encamped in the theatre of Marcellus, and the Capocci, whose tower still frowns upon St Mary Major. A vast conspiracy was formed. The war of Viterbo broke out. Tusculum had been annihilated in 1191; Innocent was compelled in 1199 to take part against one of his own cities; but he saved Viterbo. The Orsini and the Scotti fought their battles under his eyes. To overawe the Commune, his brother Richard built the huge Tor dei Conti, still extant, though a third only of its original size. A quarrel with the house of Poli drove Richard from Rome. The Commune outlawed him, seized his donjon, and threatened the Pope. Innocent quitted the Lateran in May 1203, and fell sick at Anagni. It was even rumoured that he was dead. After a spell of anarchy, the people entreated him to come back. He did so in March 1204. With eloquence and policy the breach was healed. He made his opponent, Pietro Leoni, grand elector; and, though the popular faction chose its *Buoni Uomini*, and street-fighting went on from May till October, the Pope had won.

Henceforth he governed by means of the single senator. Richard appropriated the lordship of Poli; and, except for a moment in 1208, such tranquillity reigned as in the lawless medieval cities was possible. Innocent had the *popolo minuto* generally on his side. He gave large charities, founded the hospital of Santo Spirito, and shared his table with hungry children. He was a kind master. But, though he subdued Rome, the towns of Italy fought on as before. They would open their gates

to his legates only under compulsion. Florence and the Tuscan League would by no means endure to be handled as subjects of the Temporal Power; Arezzo insulted the Pope's representative; Pisa, with its archbishop, always insolent, stood out against him as often as he tried to exercise his rights over the island of Sardinia, which that maritime republic considered to be its own. So late as 1216, the Pisans on this account lay under censure; but the isle was lost for ever to the Holy See. In most of the Italian towns, according to M. Luchaire, opinion was unfriendly to clerics; the middle class withstood or drove out the bishop; the bishop retaliated with an interdict. Excommunication, dealt out on all sides, provoked revenge or was laughed to scorn. Innocent threatened to take away their bishoprics from Piacenza, Novara, and other Lombard cities. For taxing the clergy, Verona, Modena, Mantua, Ferrara, Padua, drew upon themselves the Pope's severest language. Heretics found protection, he said, where orthodox prelates could not maintain their footing. The bourgeois citizen tended more and more to develop a secular spirit. He wanted no priest to rule over him, whether at Florence, which was eminently religious, or in the worldly and commercially-minded State of Venice. Though Innocent had made Italy free, to recover the Matildan heritage or direct municipal politics lay beyond the resources of his unwearied pen.

And, in the main, he could but write. His pen was his magic weapon. With it he constructed alliances, launched interdicts, suspended or deprived bishops, deposed kings, set on foot crusades, and defended himself against the charges of double-dealing or illegality which his enemies did not spare. He created afresh the Patrimony of St Peter as a real dominion. While Frederick was a mere youth he governed Sicily. But, except when the Emperor smote them into a sullen peace, the towns of Italy, from Treviso to Narni, continued their strife, while Innocent looked on with a genuine Christian hatred of that democratic anarchy which he knew not how to control. Seven thousand 'revolutions' have been counted by an expert in Italian chronicles as marking the period which saw Guelfs dispute with Ghibellines under pretexts borrowed from religious or patriotic

motives, but always partisan. The Church, it is needful to remember, was incessantly at odds with one or other of the forms of violence cultivated by nobles who were *condottieri*, or citizens who were bent on destroying their opponents. Dante, in the year 1300, takes for the keynote of his 'Inferno' this irretrievable discord. Himself an exile, nourishing thoughts of revenge, he sees the world a prey to faction in cities, to avarice in the Curia, to dissension in the Empire. But the Pope whom, in his twofold character as Pontiff and man, he at once revered and detested, was Boniface VIII. Would he have praised Innocent? We can hardly think so. Nevertheless, if a theocracy with its tiara above the crown was ever justified of its wearer, now was the time. For, as Milman observes, the young Pontiff had become, in less than a year from his accession, 'virtually King of Sicily, master of his own large territories, and, as the ally and protector of the great Republican Leagues, the dominant power in Italy.'

He aimed, in his medieval scholastic fashion, at the union of knowledge with faith under the reign of justice. Thus he inaugurates the thirteenth century, which critics of every shade recognise as the zenith of the Middle Ages, and as exhibiting Catholic ideals in their loftiest form. Now does papal Rome hold West and East under its suzerainty. At one moment Constantinople and Jerusalem are subject to its behests. It sends out the crusader to strike down Saracen and Albigensian, while in his headlong course he tramples on the Greek. The Lateran Council of 1215 appears like a world-parliament, dictating 'Urbi et Orbi,' to the nations at large, what they shall believe and how they shall be governed. Heretics are proscribed by law; the Inquisition and the civil codes hunt them from society; they may not so much as draw breath in the Christian Republic. Moreover, the universities absorb Aristotle; the Friars teach philosophy; St Thomas Aquinas, the Doctor Angelical, sums up the *totum scibile* and gives it in his translucent language a Catholic expression. St Francis preaches the gospel of detachment; St Louis becomes the pattern of holiness on the throne. Christian art moves on to its consummation through architecture and painting. Italian peasants and Umbrian saints lead up to the Tuscan style,

which, in its sweetness and strength, gives to the stanzas of the 'Divine Comedy' their undying music. The Popes conquer the Hohenstaufen and crown the Hapsburg. They make England their fief, and through their legates sanction Magna Carta. To their policy is due the expansion of France; while the house of Aragon, never relinquishing its claim on Naples, traceable to Frederick's first marriage, waxes great and forebodes the mighty days when Ferdinand and Isabella, Charles V, and Philip II, will act as champions, yet as overlords, to the Church they defend. At the opening of all these vistas Innocent stands displaying, in its fair proportions, the majesty of Canon Law. Aquinas the metaphysician, Dante the poet, Francis the mystic, offer, it may be, sublimer traits of religion to our view; but this Pope is not unworthy of those men. He has something which is common to them all, and which lends them a peculiar charm. It is the power of throwing into concrete visible shape an influence, an idea, in its nature transcending the shows of sense, yet capable of being rendered into Greek, Roman, Tuscan, and Teutonic symbols, with Hebrew energy inspiring the whole.

To a man so convinced of his prerogatives, the Bible, which he knew almost by heart—he has never done quoting it—and history in its current legends, furnished a preamble on which all his acts were framed. Whether dealing with Patarines at Viterbo, or interdicted Germans at Assisi, or the marriages and divorces of royal persons like Philip Augustus and Pedro of Aragon, his guiding rule was the good of the Church, according to law. For the Canons he professed, no doubt sincerely, the deepest veneration. But he had a dispensing power, and he exercised it. By rescripts he governed Christendom, with a lawyer's tactics, never to his knowledge unjustly, yet not *sine dolo*, as at times he is willing to boast. His policy might change; his principles were always the same. Thus, if we follow the winding track of Innocent's diplomacy as regards the Empire, the Fourth Crusade, the Albigenses, and England, we shall perceive in the Pope himself no shadow of turning. His course varied as the situation altered. Writers may affirm that in the long run all he attempted came to grief. The ruin of the Imperial house, which he brought about, recoiled on his

successors; the crusaders who took Constantinople and set up their Latin emperors divided the Greeks from the Roman Church more effectually than ever; if the Albigenses were put down, their spirit lingered on until Bohemians and Lollards could hand the flaming torch to Luther; and lay parliaments from his day onward rebelled against the 'monstrous regiment' of clerics. But Innocent would never have granted that his principles were at fault. 'The ancient watchword of the Republic,' says Lord Acton, 'was translated by Papinian into the language of the Church, "Summa est ratio quæ pro religione fiat."' The Pope had constantly before his eyes that reason of State. But so had the Emperor. Both were established on Divine Right. How should their government be distinguished and their powers be reconciled? All other problems of the Middle Ages run up into this, or take their starting-point from it.

'Freedom and Holy Church'—so rang the Guelf war-cry. 'Our sacred Monarchy,' was the Ghibellines' retort. Already we hear in German Diets the language of adulation which sounds so amazing to us in the Parliaments of Henry VIII and Elizabeth. For the Germans began this great quarrel, to be taken up by the French later, and to be made by Englishmen the very subject and motive of their Reformation. Theology, as such, does not enter into it. Innocent was no speculative genius. He did, indeed, send preachers to heretics; but philosophy is absent from his vast correspondence; and, when he arbitrates between the claims of Philip and Otho to the Imperial sceptre, his reasons are simply political. These politics, however, found their justification in the Church's need of independence, which meant that Rome must be free.

One victory had been secured to the Church when investitures were given up by the Emperor Henry V, at the Council of Lateran in 1123. A second was purchased by Thomas Becket's martyrdom in 1170, which seemed to fling a halo round clerical immunities. The submission of Barbarossa to Alexander III, remarkable in itself, was followed by the acknowledgment of Lombard freedom; and thus between Rome and the onset of Germany a barrier had been set up more difficult than the Alps to overcome. But how stood the case now,

when a successor to the fierce Henry VI must be chosen? The German electors had been persuaded to nominate his infant son, Frederick. They presently appointed Henry's brother, Philip of Suabia, by way of guardian-Emperor, so as to keep the Roman succession in the family of Hohenstaufen. Philip's chief adherents were among the South Germans. But Otho of Brunswick—also Earl of York, and nephew of Richard Cœur de Lion—had a minority in his favour, loosely composed, whose main strength lay on the Rhine and in the Netherlands. Philip was excommunicate from the days of Coelestine III. He still held captive Sibylla, widow of Tancred the Sicilian, as likewise the Archbishop of Salerno; and the crimes of his father and grandfather weighed him down. Formerly destined for the Church, he was an adept in Canon Law. A man of prepossessing character, he made friends on every side; but such was always the fortune of these Suabian Emperors. What, then, should Innocent do? If he was to crown the elect, surely it followed in law that he could judge of the election. So he argued, and on that argument he acted.

For a while he declared himself neutral. But in his 'Deliberation' of December 1200 he reviewed the status of the several candidates, and, putting aside Frederick as chosen before he had been baptised, he added the genuine reason—a King of Sicily should never be Roman Emperor. As regarded Philip, he was out of the Church on various counts; his election would confirm the hereditary claims which Christendom was loth to admit where its highest dignity was concerned; and the Hohenstaufen had always been hostile to Rome. Philip's misdemeanours called forth on this occasion a vehement rhetoric which Innocent practised willingly. But the most part of the electors had designated Philip. What then? Otho, the Guelf, was devoted to the Holy See like his ancestors; and the minority which stood by him were more deserving than their adversaries. Otho should be Emperor when he had fulfilled the conditions laid upon the Church's protector by Rome, which alone had the power of creating him. Many letters to a similar effect were despatched by Innocent. The Guelf pretender signed a 'Decree' at Neuss, June 8, 1201, by which he gave back to St Peter, not only the Patrimony and the Matildan estates, but

all that the Popes had ever held since the time of Louis le Débonnaire. It was easy to give what he did not possess. The true meaning of the compact is summed up by M. Luchaire. 'If the Holy Father will bestow Germany on me, let him take as much of Italy as he can get.' Others, more susceptible to the terms of protocols, have imagined that on the Decree of Neuss were founded the later Roman privileges of the Popes. But all we know of their history tells against so simple a view.

That which did follow upon these declarations cannot, unhappily, be doubted. It was a civil war between the claimants, in which all things cruel, treacherous, and despicable were laid, not without grounds, to the charge of both parties. The Diet of Bamberg lifted up its voice against the interference of the Curia in a German question. Innocent replied that electoral rights were derived from the Holy See, and declared himself a Guelf in unqualified terms. Philip Augustus, whom destiny had fixed upon to end this dispute, though not until the battle of Bouvines, was resolved from the first never to acknowledge Otho. He rebuked the Pope with an unseemly freedom of speech; yet who could wonder if the French were exasperated by a nomination that laid them open on both sides to attack from the kings of England, now to be reinforced by their nephew of Brunswick? These, however, were political considerations. Far more distressing appeared the state of Christendom in religious eyes. Schism and interdict made havoc among the devout Germans. Adolf, the worldly-minded prelate of Cologne, who changed sides as the wind shifted, but was by temper a Ghibelline, served as a rallying-point to all those—and they were not a few—who, like Walter the Minnesinger, hated Rome, the clergy, and the Italians. Moreover, fortune smiled on Philip. After seven years of confusion, Otho was defeated at Wassenburg, July 27, 1206. He lost all Germany except Cologne, in which the deposed archbishop held him fast. Obligated to capitulate, the Guelf took refuge in England. Innocent withdrew support from this fallen champion, absolved Philip, and was preparing to crown him, when the Hohenstaufen perished by an assassin's dagger. Otho of Wittelsbach, aiming at private vengeance, had delivered the Empire by this treacherous blow to his name-

sake, and the Pope was triumphant; for the whole country now accepted his man, who was crowned at Frankfort, November 11, 1208.

If we are to judge these ancient quarrels to-day (*non expedit quidem*), our verdict will not absolve Innocent from a tortuous diplomacy that reads ill in the state-papers left us. His intentions were pure, as he often maintained; but Teutonic writers have ever since accused him of kindling war and breaking his plighted word merely that he might keep the Germans occupied at home. On the other hand, these princes and bishops needed no encouragement to wrangle; their life was a succession of battles and intrigues which no Pope could have prevented. Innocent had to deal with men whose conscience was but imperfectly developed; whose ideas were tribal, not national, in their bearing; and who fought for any chief that would hire them. What the Pope kept steadily in view was a balance of power, in which no secular sovereign should be able to enslave the Church. Philip Augustus warned him that he would repent of his alliance with Otho. The prophecy came true; and its fulfilment showed once more that an Emperor who was not merely a figure-head must provoke the wrath of Italy if he would satisfy his German followers.

The Guelf met Innocent at Viterbo, was crowned in St Peter's amid the customary scenes of slaughter, but could not enter Rome. He marched away upon his Italian progress, granting fiefs to whom he would, acting as suzerain of Tuscany, and getting ready to invade Naples. The Peninsula was slipping out of the Pope's grasp. All the winter of 1210-1211 negotiations went on to no purpose between the two powers. Innocent was resolute in defending his ward, Frederick. He humbled himself in his correspondence with the French King and sought his aid. But Otho, renewing, it would appear, the principles of Arnold of Brescia, replied that clerics—meaning the head of the Church—ought not to meddle with temporal affairs, and crossed into Apulia. He laid hands on Sora, which Innocent had given to his own brother Richard. In return, November 18, 1210, the Pope excommunicated the Emperor, who, in revenge, inflicted upon Rome a sort of secular interdict by which pilgrims were debarred from St Peter's shrine.

And now followed an amazing thing. As was said when it happened, the Pope turned Ghibelline. He sent messengers across the Alps, who persuaded the electors at Bamberg and Nürnberg to choose Frederick as King of the Romans. Anselm of Justingen bore the tidings to Palermo. Frederick, who was only seventeen, swore homage for Sicily in the hands of the legate at Messina; then, quitting wife and child, he hastened to Rome, renewed his pledge at Innocent's feet (Easter Day, 1212), and pursued his journey by sea and land through the Engadine to Constance. His rival, Otho, forsaking Italy, dogged by misfortune, losing his wife Beatrice and with her the Suabian soldiery, abandoned by all good clerics, reached Constance three hours too late. Frederick made a treaty with Philip Augustus, took the crown at Mainz, showered gold on every side, and disowned the politics of Henry VI, his anti-papal father. The unlucky Otho, in league with King John, the Count of Flanders, and Renaud of Boulogne, resolved to attack his French enemy, Philip Augustus, and met him in battle at Bouvines, July 27, 1214. Had the dethroned Emperor won, says M. Luchaire, France would have been rent in pieces, Frederick driven out of the north, and a Guelf dominion hostile to Innocent established. But Otho lost the day. His vassals went over to the young Sicilian. Cologne thrust him from one of its gates as Frederick entered at another. On May 19, 1218, he died a penitent, forgotten by the world.

But the Pope had transferred the Empire to a lad who was the incarnation of its high pretensions—a German and a Hohenstaufen—who, though doomed to defeat by and by in the struggle with Roman Canon Law, would by his own enactments lead the way to the French Pragmatic Sanction, the English statutes of Premunire, and the supremacy over all causes, spiritual no less than temporal, to be assumed by Tudors and Bourbons in a later time. Such was the man, called in his youth 'der Pfaffenkönig'—the parsons' king—whom Innocent had bred up, chosen, and consecrated, as though a second Charlemagne. 'The irony which lurks in human things'—so M. Luchaire ends his erudite volume on Pope and Emperor—'could no farther go.' But, when Innocent expired, Frederick was still a loyal son of the Church,

and not, as he became afterwards, in Lord Acton's phrase, its 'most tyrannical oppressor.'

If indeed, as Ruskin observes in 'Val d'Arno,' the Germans were a 'profane chivalry,' always hostile to the Popes, covetous of Italian territory, seizing all they could of Lombardy and Calabria, and, with any help procurable from robber-Christians or robber-Saracens, striving clumsily, by open force, to make themselves masters of Rome, this would be a justification of Innocent up to the very margin of absolute wrong. It was no spiritual reform that these mail-clad squadrons desired to plant in the Eternal City. They were freebooters as of old, while religion and culture still drew their finest inspiration from the Christian antiquity of which every Pope held himself to be the divine representative as well as the guardian. The secular State was not yet capable of eliciting a true social order from its own resources. But in Frederick's court of Palermo the Renaissance had begun to dawn.

In combating the Ghibellines, Innocent had recourse to the dangerous power of interdict, not confined to the guilty, but extending over a city, a province, or a whole nation. He had brought Philip Augustus by this means to take back his Danish wife; and it proved effective by degrees among the more religious Germans. In Italy, however, these suspensions of sacred rites lasted long and were not so much dreaded. The great Sicilian interdict went on, it is said, for seventy years. But this formidable weapon gave the Pope a control without limit over ecclesiastical persons and places. How did he stand towards the Civil Law? As supreme in the court of conscience, he might annul every enactment which he deemed a violation of its claims. And, as Captain-general of the crusading hosts, there was no profession or interest that he could not affect by his taxing-power, his protection of all who took the cross, and his denunciation of those who molested them. Hence it is true, in the words of Sir Henry Maine, that 'a rule of religion' became 'a rule of law' throughout the Middle Ages; and that the Pope who affirmed it was exercising an acknowledged right when he called upon princes to see to its execution. The two chief instances of that authority, which illustrate its nature and consequences during the reign of Innocent,

are the Fourth Crusade and the war with the Albigenes. This, too, was termed a crusade, the first undertaken against others than the disciples of Mohammed.

In none of his volumes, perhaps, do we find M. Luchaire so admirable a story-teller as in that which brings us face to face with Innocent alternately blessing and banning the expedition to Constantinople of 1204. He has given fresh pages from documents not within easy reach ; and his description of Venetians, Franks, Byzantines, and Bulgarians, who were the actors in this unparalleled enterprise, or its victims, leaves us well satisfied. It is, indeed, far superior to any other which we have consulted. The great central picture must always be drawn after Villehardouin, whose faith and *naïveté* are so strikingly French of the heroic age. But there are important details, hitherto not rescued from manuscripts, adding to the general view a precision or a richness, now set before us in a flowing narrative. Here, once more, Innocent gains by our better knowledge of him. Every inch a Pope, he does not cease to be a man. Estimating persons and causes by the rules of the Roman Chancery, he is neither fanatical nor ambitious nor unscrupulous when the unexpected happens and this new Latin Empire demands his supervision. By a sort of perverse miracle he becomes the spiritual sovereign of Byzantium and Athens, almost, if not certainly, against his will. The forces he had set in motion were too strong for him. Yet if ever the Greeks draw closer to the Latin Church, they will not, on reading of Innocent's share in the Venetian crusade, be disposed to blame him severely.

His temperament and his motives are not to be mistaken, first or last, in this holy war. No Pope has written manifestos—they might be termed orders of the day—which sound so characteristic a note. He opens the campaign at once, in 1198, by upbraiding Christian princes with their cowardice, laying heavy taxes on the clergy, and not sparing the religious orders. For the Latins of Syria were in desperate straits ; yet the princes would not stir. The bishops resented any imposition on their revenues. The Cistercians, the Order of Prémontré, pleaded exemption. Innocent turned to the Greek Emperor, Alexis III, a usurper who held his predecessor Isaac Angelus, already blinded, in prison, together with

Isaac's son, the junior Alexis. The curious correspondence which followed reveals to us how inflexible were the Roman claims, how strong the anti-papal sentiments of these so-called Greeks; how proud the attitude of supremacy on one side, of resistance on the other. But M. Luchaire brings out exceedingly well a less considered aspect of the situation. Innocent threatens the Byzantine despot with reprisals; was it, then, his idea that Western chiefs should sail, as they afterwards did, on a voyage of the Argonauts to the Golden Horn? It does not appear so. Varying as might seem to be the papal policy towards these Easterns, it obeyed two motives which were equally imperative but hard to reconcile. Rome, the 'Mother and Mistress of all Churches,' desired that the Greeks should submit to her spiritual sway. But Rome, the Pope's capital, would not long retain its independence if the Normans of Sicily or the Germans under the Emperor seized the great and splendid prize on the Bosphorus, to which these adventurers were always stretching out their hands. A General Council was not within range of expectation; but the Vatican must have shrunk from a crusade which, if successful, would increase the power it saw formidable enough already on its front or its flank. The sudden escape of young Alexis, the greed and ambition of the Venetians, the ferocity which mingled in so perplexing a degree with undoubted piety in the Franks, brought about a conquest that Innocent could not have desired, and in its wake the final separation of the Churches, east and west.

There is no need to tell over again this epic tale, given in his rude but manly prose by the Marshal of Champagne, who followed his chief, Count Thibaut, and laid before the Doge in St Mark's Place the reasons why Venice should undertake the sacred expedition. All the kings of the West had escaped its charges; but, says Villehardouin, the 'pardons were so great,' as held out by Innocent, that a crowd of the second rank—princes, counts, and knights—took the cross. How they arrived in Venice, were compelled to besiege Zara and yield it to the Republic, were carried on to Constantinople, attacked the city, and restored the blind Emperor, is a thrilling page. How young Alexis, despised of his own people, was put to death by the savage Murzuphle, and the city

conquered by the Latins a second time, amid fires, slaughters, plunderings, and sacrileges of the most atrocious kind—all this was conveyed to Innocent by other witnesses than the robber-chiefs who now divided among them the spoils of empire. Baldwin, elected as the successor of Constantine to found a Latin dynasty, informed the Pope, without dwelling on these horrors, that Providence had done it all. Twice had the crusaders disobeyed Rome and turned aside from fulfilling their vow. Excommunication, uttered against them in high official terms for their dealings with Zara, was not yet removed. But Innocent could not well disown the extraordinary chance which, by delivering into his hands the Greeks and their treasures, made the capture of Jerusalem almost a certainty. His reply to Baldwin was kind; he would allow the crusaders to stay one year more in Romania, as they called the Lower Empire in Venetian style. They, however, proceeded to carve it out by a singular compact, in which titles and dominions, lay or clerical, were assigned, from those of the Emperor and the Patriarch to the least of their followers, without sanction asked of the Supreme Pontiff. Laymen took the lion's share; to the monks, priests, and bishops they would leave only a decent maintenance. The property of the Church, exceeding that estimate, was to be divided among the French and Venetian lay folk. This, observes M. Luchaire, was nothing short of an ecclesiastical revolution, and probably the boldest which the East had ever seen.

When the Pope learned what was done at the taking of Constantinople, and how its captors intended to plunder the sanctuaries which they had defiled, his indignation knew no bounds. He would not ratify the agreements into which Baldwin, Dandolo, and the rest had entered. With a plainness of speech that came to him in such moments, he uttered his grief and shame over their works of darkness, and justified the Greeks who hated them. In his letter to Pietro of Capua, where these forcible denunciations occur, he was expressing, says M. Luchaire, the judgment of all men's conscience. But he could not undo what was done. To him fell the task of building up, so far as possible, a Latin hierarchy in the new Empire, nay, of supporting its chiefs against

their Greek or Bulgarian enemies. Towards the old clergy his behaviour was considerate. He took under his protection the metropolitan sees of Salonica, Corinth, and Athens. He pleaded with Johannices, the crafty ruler of Bulgaria, for compassion on Baldwin, who had fallen into his hands, but in vain. He defended against the rebellious Latin clerics Henry of Flanders, who was the least incapable of the Emperors thrust upon Byzantium. The everlasting strife of feudalism with law and order, as the Church understood these things, was now invading the East. Innocent could neither sacrifice the rights of the clergy nor handle the Frankish barons with a firmness that would have exposed them to destruction amid their foes. He felt especially bitter towards Venice, which, from the expedition against Zara to the last years of the Pope, followed its own interests without regard to his menaces or his kindness. But, if he made little impression upon the people of St Mark, who after all were Roman by immemorial ties, what could he expect from the outraged and vindictive Greeks? There was, indeed, a moderate party among them not unwilling to meet him half-way. But the interview between his legate and the Metropolitan of Ephesus, in Sancta Sophia, did no more than prove that union was a dream. Innocent proclaimed another crusade in 1213. Nothing came of it except some legislation which limited the crusader's rights on the part of Philip Augustus. The Lateran Council reiterated in solemn terms the Pope's appeal to Christians. But, in the eyes of the dying Pontiff, his efforts to unite Greeks and to conquer Saracens must have seemed, as they were, a failure.

Over one most formidable enemy the triumph of Innocent was complete. He destroyed the heretics of Provence root and branch, in such a storm of war and fury of pursuit that, when the Reformers avenged them, his name was anathema to every man who shared in the new beliefs. Moreover, the Pontiff's own hand bore witness in his proclamations to an unrelenting spirit—if it were more than the *stylus curiæ*—which threatened vengeance on the third and fourth generations of these unhappy nonconformists. The march of Burgundy upon the South, Arnauld of Cîteaux leading his hosts forward; the trials and anguish of Raymond, Count of Toulouse,

forced to join in the destruction of his own people; the sack of Bézier, Minerve, and other strong places, with infinite cruelties before and after; the virtues, fanaticism, stern deeds, ambitious self-seeking of Simon de Montfort; the defeat and death at Muret of Pedro of Aragon, a crusader in Spain, a fautor of 'miscreants' in Raymond's territories; the confiscation of that magnificent spoil, decreed by an assembly of clerics and confirmed by the Lateran Council—these are among the terrible common-places of history, never forgotten, like wounds that bleed afresh as soon as they are touched. And so to innumerable readers the greatest Pope of the most Catholic century has become a world's wonder, to be looked upon with loathing, as though a medieval Robespierre. His triumph sets him in a pillory, for men to mock him as they pass by. Whether history be an art or a science, at conjunctures like these it speaks in judgment, appealing to the law of righteousness, from which nothing mortal can escape. The whole dense forest of controversy touching persecution spreads in our front. We may scarcely trespass on its fringes; but, in a certain degree, it is laid upon us to show that Innocent is not chargeable with crimes which he did not command. He had no desire that fierce measures, instead of mild persuasion, should be employed in dealing with his Manichæans.

No one doubts now that the movement in Provence, while combining every form of resistance to the clergy and to Rome, was at the heart of it dangerous to civilised order and a lapse from Christian ethics. The Paulicians swept with them into the fire many a peaceable reformer who rejected their views, yet suffered on their account. Toleration had been the easy course in a land of luxury, amid refinements brought from oversea, and in the mingling of various nations. But in northern France a sterner temper prevailed. When Philip Augustus declined to meddle with a home crusade, Innocent fell back on the Cistercians, not as fighting-men, but as preachers; behind them stood the mailed warriors, who might be vicious yet were passionately orthodox. There was no need that Rome should spur them on. These Franks, or Franco-Germans, had been used for half a century to burn their heretics at the stake. They were nothing if not intolerant. But so were the laws of universal

Christendom. And, as M. Luchaire points out, the civilisation which they were rudely defending was an effort, under the Gospel, to reconcile all the elements of man's nature; while the Albigensian divided them hopelessly. On the most vital subjects he was carried away by a hatred of the flesh that betrayed him into excesses on either side, and must have split up society into the regenerate, who withdrew from it, and the common people, for whom there was no hope of religious progress. Neither did the 'Perfect' want to be tolerated; they fought for supremacy. Between the leading parties, therefore, it was a struggle which could not be ended until one of them was annihilated. The whole medieval order of things would have broken up had victory fallen to the sectaries who were favoured, or at any rate shielded, by Raymond of Toulouse.

Eight years spent in preaching brought matters no nearer a conclusion. Innocent would have preferred the gentler methods of Dominic to the sword of Simon de Montfort. But Dominic (who, of course, did not found the Inquisition) had not convinced the Paulicians of their errors. A new Oriental superstition, not less perilous than that of Islam, was likely to be established in the very centre of the Latin world; and should Innocent suffer it? Public opinion certainly would not. The Holy War broke out, in a manner, of itself. There was a growing difficulty in assembling expeditions for Egypt or Syria. There was none on the French people's part when Rome called them to invade this 'Western Judæa.'

That Innocent desired the conversion, not the extermination, of the Albigenses, M. Luchaire proves in detail. A striking instance may be found in the welcome offered to Durandus of Huesca, with his repentant followers, who, in 1210, were reconciled to the Church as 'Catholic Poor Men.' Hitherto Waldensians, they anticipated the lines of St Francis, and in their preaching against heretics opened the way to the Dominican friars. In 1212 the Pope was protecting these converts, whom bishops and clergy would torment if they could. His wrath did not spare the crusaders when they turned the Holy War to their own emolument. For Simon de Montfort he has hard words of blame; he disavowed his legates who exceeded the papal instructions; he was more than courteous

to Raymond on his arrival in Rome (January 1210), and accepted his defence; he would not allow the Comte de Foix to be deprived of his territory; and he insisted that absolution should be given to the citizens of Toulouse.

Facts so various, yet so concordant, bear a witness in the Pope's favour which it would be unjust to overlook. It is true that local authority, in the persons of the Abbot Arnould and Bishop Fulk of Marseilles, passed by his admonitions, nay, his commands, to acts which they thought indispensable, and which were approved by the army. But the correspondence remaining exonerates from these dreadful deeds the ruler who knew nothing of them till they were done. Reaction even set in as he would have guided it, not strong enough to save the doomed Count of Toulouse from deposition and beggary, but a token that the crusade was forfeiting its religious character. In his letters of January 1213 to Montfort and Arnould, Innocent condemns their proceedings out of hand; he wanted Raymond VII to succeed his father, if the States-General of Provence would agree. The Council of Lavaur refused its consent. The Pope yielded to an implacable *vox populi* which demanded that Raymond's dynasty should cease to reign. The battle of Muret followed; Pedro of Aragon was cut down; but till November 1215 Innocent strove against Montfort and his *entourage* in favour of the vanquished. He would not bestow Languedoc on the Catholic champion. The Lateran Council deposed Raymond VI; yet the Pope did all he could for him; and, though vast possessions were assigned to the conquering Earl of Leicester, it was the Pontiff himself who preserved for Raymond VII Beaucaire, Nîmes, and Provence. His last act in this tragedy (December 21, 1215) was to order that the château of Foix should be taken from Montfort and restored to its legitimate Count. So far as in him lay, the policy of Innocent had become an effort to undo the consequences of the Albigensian campaign, at least in the political order.

His great Council of Lateran promulgated a code, minute and far-reaching, of which the corner-stone was uniformity in religion. We cannot fancy the Pope as not approving, in perfect good faith, any one of its provisions, however contrary to modern sentiments. He was a crusader on the papal throne. Let it be clear that prince

or peasant had lapsed into heresy, and the penalties decreed against unbelievers would be executed with his concurrence. But his continued efforts and enquiries to ascertain the truth show that Innocent loved justice, and that his own acts were dictated by equity rather than fanaticism. Such is the verdict of M. Luchaire, which those who have studied the documents will sign without misgiving.

'All the intolerance in Catholic times,' says Lord Acton, 'was founded on the combination of two ideas—the criminality of apostasy, and the inability of the State to maintain its authority where the moral sense of a part of the community was in opposition to it.' The Jews were protected by custom, but had no portion in the State. Europe was a Catholic federation, its members subject to one great law, which was likewise a creed. So the public conscience affirmed; and on that affirmation every ruler shaped his conduct, or else, like Raymond VI, suffered for his connivance at heresy. We may insist, as Lord Acton does in a strong letter to Bishop Creighton, on 'the inflexible integrity of the moral code,' yet perceive how, in a given period, rulers have granted or denied toleration, and at all periods have drawn bounds to it, while the principles of ethics do not change. There can be no such thing as limitless sufferance of acts, or even of opinions, without anarchy ensuing. All we can fairly ask of those in power is that they should not fall below the conscience of their time. Measured by that standard—surely the one intelligible way of reading history—Innocent appears to have been a just ruler. No personal deeds of violence can be laid to his charge. He was wholly disinterested, willing to receive back, on moderate terms, the rebellious who approached him; and, if his legates or their instruments turned a religious crusade into a war of massacre and confiscation, that was manifestly not his doing.

Two permanent obligations were laid upon every Pope, as head of the Christian theocracy, from Gregory VII onwards. The Vatican was bound to withstand or drive back the advance of Islam; and, though each crusade failed, yet the crusades as a whole succeeded. If we are Christians in the West, we owe it to the lavish pouring out of blood and treasure by untold multitudes at the

Pope's command. Nothing but a power such as he wielded (however liable to abuse) would have saved Europe from the fate which has overtaken Asia Minor. Innocent was defending civilisation, though his Argonauts trampled on the luxury of the Greeks. Again, to quote Lord Acton once more, the Teutons who formed the States from which our own have sprung, 'ceased to be barbarians only in becoming Christians.' This implied a second arduous call on the Pontiff, who was perpetually engaged in softening the wild habits and military insolence of tribes that understood only how to fight. To this day the German glories in his harness of battle, his 'mailed fist,' and his power to use it. For hundreds of years he was little else than a Berserk, a man of blood and iron. To inspire, to transform his action, to tame and civilise him, religion devised the Truce of God, sent him to the Holy Land, terrified him with interdicts, excommunications, and the everlasting doom. He believed, even while he broke the law. We are living in quite a different order of things. Men keep the law better than they did seven centuries ago; but in large measure they do not believe. Hence their extreme difficulty in taking the proportions of any great figure which rises upon them out of the ages of faith. They grasp the ethics of revolution; they are slow to comprehend that a saviour of society has any right to inflict suffering on its assailants.

Innocent rescued Italy from the German bandits, overcame the factions of the Fatherland, brought Philip Augustus to open penitence, smote King John to his knees in the Temple Church by interdict, gave to Castile the predominance in Spain by conferring on Toledo metropolitan rank, taught Frederick II better principles than that ill-fated genius ever practised, and consecrated a new spiritual militia, the Friars of St Francis and St Dominic, who stayed the Reformation for three hundred years. Would Manichæans or Moors, both smitten down at his word, have set up a civilisation superior to the Catholic and medieval, which he saved from them? If not, he was a benefactor to mankind. This, after all, is the question that history proposes, and according as we answer it our judgment of Innocent III will take its lasting colour.

WILLIAM BARRY.

Art 11.—THE REFORM OF THE POOR-LAW.

1. *Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor-Laws and Relief of Distress*, 1909. [Cd. 4499.]
2. *The Poor-Law Report of 1909 : a Summary, etc.* By Helen Bosanquet. London : Macmillan, 1909.
3. *The Break-up of the Poor-Law, and The Public Organisation of the Labour Market.* Minority Report of the Poor-Law Commission. Edited, with introduction, by Sidney and Beatrice Webb. Two vols. London : Longmans, 1909.
4. *Unemployment, a Problem of Industry.* By W. H. Beveridge. London : Longmans, 1909.

THE Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor-Laws has now been in the hands of the public for some weeks. As our readers are probably by this time aware, there is a Majority Report of some 670 folio pages. This is followed by several qualifying memoranda from members of the Commission who sign the Majority Report. Of these the most important is that of Dr A. H. Downes,* Senior Medical Inspector for Poor-Law purposes to the Local Government Board for England. This document, unless we are mistaken, is destined to play a very important part in guiding public opinion on the subject.

The interest of this bulky volume is still further increased by the inclusion of a separate or Minority Report, of over 500 pages, signed by the Rev. H. Russell Wakefield, Mr George Lansbury, Mr Chandler, and Mrs Sidney Webb. Mrs Webb, who, it is understood, is mainly responsible for this Report, is a convinced member of the Socialist party, and, happily for the enlightenment of the public, has a more logical view than the empirical party politician of the goal to which her arguments necessarily lead. Liberalism, if logic and etymology have any meaning, is the antithesis to socialism. A joining of issues, therefore, such as we perceive in this series of Reports, tending to bring out the irreconcilable divergence of these two opinions, is to be welcomed in the interest of intelligible controversy.

This article is a criticism, not a summary, of the

* Issued as a pamphlet by Messrs King and Son.

Reports. We content ourselves, therefore, with noticing very briefly the salient features of the two Reports, and the principal points on which they disagree. A condensed list of the 'principal' recommendations runs to forty-four pages in the original folio. We only attempt therefore to give the leading characteristics.

Both Reports criticise severely the present system. The Majority Report condemns especially the tendency which has arisen of late years to entrust the duty of giving public relief to bodies other than the Poor-Law authority, as, for instance, the relief of children by the education authority, and the relief of the unemployed by the borough councils and the authorities set up by the Unemployed Workmen Act, 1905. It accepts the continuance of the Poor-Law as a necessity, and urges that its administration should be in the hands of one authority. It recommends the enlargement of the area from the union to the county, and thinks that this would facilitate a classification of different types of paupers in separate establishments. It regards direct election as an unsuitable device for obtaining the experienced administration which is required. It recommends that the new authority should be a statutory committee of the county council (with an obligation to add to its number), to be called the Public Assistance Authority. Local committees, to be called Public Assistance Committees, are to be appointed by it for local administration. Provision is to be made for obtaining on these committees the co-operation of voluntary agencies in the work of public relief. This is one of the principal innovations suggested by the Report. It also favours an experiment in the establishment of labour exchanges, and advocates the granting to the new authority of larger powers of detention in labour colonies, together with many other minor but yet important alterations of the law.

The Minority Report, on the other hand, desires to break up the Poor-Law and to extend the policy of letting other public departments administer relief in the way specially condemned by the majority. The existing authority is to disappear. The Education Authority will take over its duties as regards children; the public Health Authority will deal with medical relief; a special authority will provide for the aged; and a Ministry of

Labour is to be appointed, which, *inter alia*, will deal with the able-bodied applicant for relief. Generally, it may be said, the Minority Report proclaims the responsibility of the public authority for all the vicissitudes of life. The recovery, from the applicant, of the cost of this facile system of relief, which is practically pressed on the acceptance of the poor, is so slightly and so inadequately handled that it is impossible not to feel that the authors of the Report attach little or no importance to this aspect of the question. They also propose labour-exchanges, through which, for certain scheduled trades, it should be compulsory on employer and employed to arrange their contract for hiring. Those for whom the labour-exchanges are unable to find employment are to have 'honourable maintenance under training'; and, though the artificial making of employment for the unemployed is condemned, the Minority propose that a sum of forty millions shall be spent within the next ten years in stimulating the demand for labour at the 'lean' seasons of trade.

The wholesale condemnation of the present administration, which is to be found in both Reports, will cause considerable heart-burning; and, if it were worth while, it would be easy to show that insufficient credit has been given for much good work which, in spite of a very defective system, has been done in many parts of the country. There is in the mind of the public some confusion of ideas. The Poor-Law, as conceived by the authors of the Report of 1834, and the administration of the law, are two totally different things. It is of course difficult, if not impossible, to embody a principle in an Act of Parliament. The Legislature in 1834, adopting the recommendations of the Commissioners, hoped that the executives appointed by the Act would give adequate relief, and at the same time so order their procedure that poor men would not, except in the last resort, abandon their efforts to remain independent by reason of the attractions of a Poor-Law maintenance. This, in popular language, is the much quoted principle that Poor-Law relief should be, or appear to be, 'less eligible' than independence.

The mistake made in the legislation of 1834 was that no sufficient guarantee was taken that this principle

would be observed by the new executives. A great part of the Report of 1834 is taken up with a condemnation of the various authorities which up to that date had administered the law; and now, after the event, we can easily see that it was a mistake to entrust the administration of the new law to the same class of persons under only slightly altered conditions. Exactly what might have been expected has happened. The new executives, with few exceptions, had no knowledge or experience in social therapeutics; and there was no sufficient means of enforcing the policy of the central control on the local authorities. The old abuses therefore, which are very natural to the normal man, crept in again. The condemnation of our present administration, so emphatically pronounced by the Majority Report, is not, therefore, levelled against the principles of 1834, but against the insufficiency and inability of the machinery then set up to carry these principles into effect.

It is extremely important that we should keep this distinction in view. It may be remembered that in 1834 there were certain theorists, whose views were set out on a celebrated occasion by Lord Brougham, prepared to argue against all Poor-Laws. The Commissioners never took this view. Justifying their opinion by reference to experiments that had been made, they pointed out that a Poor-Law could be safeguarded to a large extent by the introduction of a proper test of destitution; and, as a practical definition of destitution, they laid it down that a man is destitute when he is ready to exchange the maintenance which he derives from his own resources for one which is offered to him by the Poor-Law authorities in one of their institutions. There was however, in theory, no special virtue in the institutional buildings. There is a passage in the Report, to which the late Sir E. Chadwick was fond of referring, in which praise is given to the Rev. Thomas Whateley for his success in depauperising his parish, not by means of an institutional building, but by carefully superintending and enforcing the parish work provided for able-bodied paupers. This close personal supervision was not a possible solution in the larger areas, which, for other reasons, the Commissioners were recommending; and they relied more on the automatic institutional test.

There is some sort of suggestion in the Report now before us that the new administration, aided by the co-ordinated voluntary agencies, might make some experimental return to the practice of the Rev. Thomas Whateley. We have no objection to such an experiment, provided that its conduct is entrusted to persons who recognise the necessity of making the dependent maintenance less eligible than independence, and who, when they cannot secure this, will be ready to acknowledge failure and to abandon the attempt. It is because we regard experiment as valuable that we insist on the necessity of qualified and trained administration, pledged to definite principles, and therefore fit to be entrusted with discretion to vary the tactics for arriving at a definitely conceived goal. We are therefore entirely in agreement with the desire of the Commissioners to secure the services of a more enlightened executive for local Poor-Law administration.

Their definite proposals on this head we accept with some reserve. We are glad to note that Dr Downes 'especially supports the proposed association of each committee with a chief and expert officer charged with very responsible duties.' The policy, it seems to us, should be taken from headquarters, and should be communicated to the localities by this 'chief and expert officer.' The motive of it all may be summed up in the word depauperisation. Such an arrangement seems to us to follow logically on the recommendations of the Report of 1834, and to bring, all too tardily, a correction of an error then made.

It may, unfortunately, be now too late. As will be seen by reference to the Minority Report, there are persons among us who would not be satisfied with a successful policy of depauperisation, and who have larger ulterior designs on the economic framework of society. The socialists wish to abolish the Poor-Law, not for the reasons that seemed convincing to the old Radicals of 1834, but because, in accordance with their principles, they must seize every occasion for advocating State regulation and responsibility in every department of life. Gratuitous maintenance and education of children, gratuitous maintenance of the sick and the aged, and the State organisation of work for the unemployed, if such a

condition of things could be permanently practicable, would certainly render a Poor-Law unnecessary. We are grateful therefore to Mrs Webb and her coadjutors for stating this alternative, and for allowing us to understand that it is the attractiveness of this picture which makes her and her friends feel cold towards the alternative policy of depauperisation. For ourselves, we regard Mrs Webb's proposals as visionary and irrelevant to the practical reference submitted to the Commission.

This justification of a Poor-Law administered, under proper safeguards, for the purpose of depauperisation is recommended to us by the high authority of the Commission of 1834, and is confirmed by the weighty verdict of the majority of the Commission of 1909. What this majority condemns is the disregard of proper safeguards, and the indifference to the cause of depauperisation, which of late years have been characteristic of the administration of the law.

It is only reasonable to assume that the Act of 1834 was not likely to succeed if it was not administered in the spirit intended by its authors. The Local Government Board and some few unions throughout the country understood and, so far as possible, adhered to and extended the principles laid down in 1834; but for the most part these principles have been entirely ignored. Notwithstanding these untoward circumstances, results not altogether unfavourable have been achieved. A table of statistics and curves, showing the rise and fall of pauperism over long periods, would prove an effective protest against the sweeping verdict of the Commission. In unions like Whitechapel and St George-in-the-East we find that pauperism has been brought down to an irreducible minimum by a policy which, if pursued elsewhere, would long ere now have rendered the problem of pauperism a negligible quantity. Instead of that we find throughout the country a policy adopted of which Poplar is an extreme example. The guardians in such places abandon all thought of depauperisation, and set themselves to canvass for applicants by every means in their power. The law has not broken down, but the power of the executives to ignore the principles on which the law ought to be administered has turned it into an engine of social devastation. In any future reconstruction

it is to be hoped that the executive, be it stipendiary, nominated, or elected, will be in sympathy with the main purpose of the law which it is called on to administer. The main purpose, we need have no hesitation in affirming, should be the depauperisation of the people, in other words, their restoration to independence. This alone can be accepted as a true and final remedial measure.

Subject to these remarks, we do not think that any well-informed person will, in general, deny the justice of the condemnation of existing methods. Indeed, with regard to London, the verdict has been proved up to the hilt by the strict process of legal evidence required in our criminal courts. The serious part of the miscarriage of administration in the incriminated East-end unions was not, in our opinion, the defalcations with regard to public money, but the way in which a lavish and so-called popular distribution of relief was used as a cloak for dishonesty and speculation.

Assuming, then, that the condemnation of the existing system is just in the main, we have to consider what are the remedies proposed by the several Reports. The Majority Report, as already hinted, is an extremely ambitious document. This is as it should be, for in such matters reformers are wise to set out their demands on a most ample scale; it is certain they will only get a part of what they ask. The memoranda furnished by Dr Downes and by Miss Octavia Hill are useful reminders that, to two of the most practical minds on the Commission, vast and important reforms could be effected without the revolutionary change of area and authorities which is recommended in the Report.

The whole difficulty of the matter is one of administration. There is very little wrong, we believe, with the present law, if we could secure enlightened administration. There is nothing to prevent the present authorities adopting the whole, or very nearly the whole, of the reforms now recommended. Further, there are endless combinations conceivable for the reconstruction of the local executive authorities which would work perfectly well if only a definite policy could be adopted, and sufficient guarantees taken that these authorities would work towards that policy. The main thing is to ensure intelligent management of the resources that are at the

country's disposal for the relief of the poor; and for this purpose some clear conception of the goal at which we are aiming is absolutely necessary.

Now the object of the Majority Report is so to reform our administration of public relief that it shall be possible to relieve the necessitous or destitute and, at the same time, to do as little as possible to destroy the sense of personal and family responsibility on which in the main they consider the welfare of society to rest. The two things are obviously not easy to combine; but we think it may fairly be said that the Majority Report confirms the old dictum that the only justification for the existence of a Poor-Law is that it recognises as its main duty the necessity of rendering itself unnecessary. The older writers argued that the powers of legal relief were of necessity negative—that it could not deal constructively with industrial derelicts. It could relieve them, but, although the Elizabethan law ordered that impossible task, it could never succeed in establishing industry. The constructive element in absorbing labour into industrial society lies with individual initiative. Attempts to organise labour by the Poor-Law have always been disastrous. They have tended to congest where they ought to have dispersed population; and it is worthy of note that advocates of the State organisation of labour, as in the Minority Report, admit the impossibility of laying this duty on the Poor-Law. They therefore urge the breaking up of the Poor-Law and the organisation of labour by some authority which, though it deals with the relief of the poor, shall in some mysterious way not be a Poor-Law authority. This is an important admission and puts before us clearly enough, if we care to note it, the gulf that lies between society as at present constituted, and that utopian world to which the Minority Report seeks to draw us.

That this admission of the impotence of the Poor-Law to be industrially a constructive and restorative force should be regarded with impatience by those who, wishing otherwise, do not understand the ground on which it is based, is very natural. The older Poor-Law economists, however, frequently pointed out that at the side of legal relief there was another line of defence in the efforts and institutions of private charity. No wiser

words were ever written on the subject than those of the Commissioners of 1834 (Report, p. 147) :

'The bane of all pauper legislation has been the legislating for extreme cases. Every exception, every violation, of the general rule to meet a real case of unusual hardship lets in a whole class of fraudulent cases, by which that rule must in time be destroyed. Where cases of real hardship occur, the remedy must be applied by individual charity, a virtue for which no system of compulsory relief can be or ought to be a substitute.'

The Commissioners of 1909, in view of the popular dissatisfaction with the failure of the Poor-Law to undertake restorative and constructive work, propose an amalgamation or co-operation of voluntary and legal agencies for the relief of distress, and hope that in this way the restorative and constructive element, so much desired, can be rendered more effective in our system of public relief. It would be churlish to refuse them the satisfaction of getting rid of unpopular bodies such as guardians and charity organisation societies, and resuscitating them under the name of Committee of Public Assistance. It is, we admit, occasionally useful to say, 'Let bygones be bygones; to-morrow is a new day'; and most earnestly we desire to recommend all whom it may concern to respond to this appeal for co-operation, which is really a central idea of the Commissioners' Report. We must not forget, however, that economic cause and effect, if such thing there be—and the most cynical and sceptical of politicians must surely admit that there is—do not take cognisance of mere nomenclature, and that a change of names will not alter the stubborn realities of the situation.

The proposal, then, is to start afresh, and for that purpose to marshal in double array the various agencies which have funds at their disposal from legal, endowed, or voluntary sources for the relief of distress. This appears to us to be the merest common-sense; and the only danger that we see in the proposal is one which we do not think insuperable. Little would be gained if the action of the associated voluntary agencies became so stereotyped and inelastic that it did not differ at all from the action of a body dispensing a fund derived from rates or taxes. Still the danger is there. An alliance between

poor-law and charity, which puts on the rates a responsibility otherwise borne by voluntary agencies, would inevitably result (as witness the Unemployed Workmen Act, 1905) in drying up the charitable and voluntary source of supply.

We must however, to make this clear, endeavour to set out more fully the benefit which it is expected will be gained from the co-operation of voluntary and legal agencies of relief. The main difficulty of all public relief administration is that, while our humanity prompts us to provide relief on terms that are facile and ample, such action inevitably tends to aggregate a dependent population; where the carcass is, there are the vultures gathered together. It is a policy that tends to foster those imperfections of character which it should be the aim of the social reformer to eradicate. We need not labour the point; it is self-evident and admitted by every serious student of the question. Now it is the experience of those who are best in a position to know, that voluntary funds have much less influence on the imagination and action of the poor than a legal provision. It is highly desirable, therefore, that some portion of the field of public relief should be covered by a system which has in it this prophylactic and antiseptic property. The Commissioners wisely do not go much into detail; but, as we understand it, an application for relief will somehow be brought to the cognisance of both the legal and the voluntary agency. If possible, it will be dealt with by a voluntary agency which can bring to bear more elastic methods of treatment and, what is also of first importance, some element of personal sympathy and care. Only in the last resort, if the application requires institutional and permanent treatment, will the responsibility be relegated to the law. The intelligent application of the vast resources at the country's disposal to a policy animated by a sincere and scientific philanthropy is undoubtedly most attractive. It presents of course many difficulties; but we trust that the task will be undertaken in a patriotic spirit, and that it will not be marred by sectional jealousies and obstinacy.

We shall be wise at this stage not to insist on details, but only on the necessity of a common purpose. We believe (and we may be allowed to say that our assertion

is based on some personal experience) that, in seeking a plan of common action, it will be best to depend on a clear and intelligible division of labour rather than on a plan of co-operation which involves negotiation and exchange of views on each individual application. We believe that it might be practicable to refer the whole of the domiciliary relief of the poor to the voluntary agencies, and to leave the institutional relief in the hand of the legal authority, with such mutual interchange of assistance from the great voluntary hospitals as might be arranged. This, our experience teaches us, is the surest way to avoid friction and misunderstanding.

With this very ambitious scheme we should compare the reservations made by Dr Downes and Miss Hill. As both these Commissioners have signed the Majority Report, their criticism is not to be interpreted as hostile to its main purpose; but it is to be read as a *caveat* to warn us that the machinery proposed may be found impracticable, and also as an encouragement to the belief that the prescribed machinery is not necessarily essential, and that some approach towards the policy indicated in the Majority Report may be made by a simpler method.

Dr Downes (p. 674) expresses some apprehension that the elaborate and far-reaching changes advocated by the majority may 'appear to be but a half-way step to the multiplication of relief authorities advocated by the minority, and to the very end which the whole argument of the Majority Report condemns.' This criticism applies, not, as we understand it, to the proposal for co-ordinating the services of charitable associations, but to the proposal for a large alteration of areas and for a recasting of our already elaborate classification of the pauper population in separate Poor-Law buildings—a return, in fact, to a policy entered on, but subsequently abandoned, by the public authority in the early years of the new Poor-Law.

We are disposed to agree with Dr Downes, and to think that the majority have attached too much importance to what after all is a mere administrative detail, namely, whether a further segregation of the pauper population in special buildings and under special authorities is desirable or not. The attitude of the Commissioners has led to a misapprehension on the part of the public which they will regret. There is an impression

abroad that the net result of the various Reports is a demand for the breaking up of the Poor-Law. If we have any regard to the ordinary interpretation of words, there is no sort of justification for the idea. The whole point of the Majority Report is that we require a Poor-Law, and that this Poor-Law must continue in the hands of one authority. They are not prepared to see society abandon the struggle for self-maintenance, the principle on which 97 out of every 100 members of the population depend, and to make the principle of the dependent 3 per cent. become the rule of the whole. We do not require half a dozen authorities for the management of this dependent fringe of the population. We want one competent authority, using the means at its disposal in a reasonable manner; and it matters little whether it is a Poor-Law Board or a Committee of Public Assistance. The Majority Report gives no countenance to the idea that, by a mere shuffle of names, areas, and authorities, the dependents of society will cease to be dependents, or that the law which provides for their maintenance can economically be other than a Poor-Law.

Here the issue is most clearly joined with the Minority Report. Our first observation on this document is on its irrelevancy both to the reference of the Commission and to the state of society in which we move. We say this in no offensive sense, nor do we think that its authors will feel concerned to deny the accuracy of our description. It is a deliberate attempt to ignore the fact that society is still based on the presumption that a personal responsibility rests on each individual member of society for the maintenance of himself and his family. The signatories to the Minority Report proclaim, on the contrary, that the responsibility, for each and for all, rests on the community. One branch of the public service must attend to the education and maintenance of our children; another department must take care of sanitation and public health; there is, further, the pension authority for the care of the aged; and, if there are persons out of work, this must be made to cease by the State undertaking the organisation of labour. There is consequently no Poor-Law—or, as we might be inclined to put it, inasmuch as all law is Poor-Law, there is no sense in calling one fraction of it by that specific

name—and consequently there are no paupers, except in the sense that we shall all be paupers, managed and regulated by some branch of the public authority. This, we apprehend, is the boldest step forward yet taken by the managers of the Fabian Society. Hitherto—and this Report is still in detailed parts characterised by these tactics—the Fabian policy has been to propose small and apparently innocuous changes in the law, all of them, however, leading to the larger policy of which this Report gives us a more definite indication than anything hitherto issued to the general public.

It is no answer to the question referred to the Commission to postulate that, since personal responsibility is abolished, the Poor-Law may be abolished too; and that we have reached a state of public opinion when it is practicable to ask the State to be responsible for the feeding and education of all children, for the gratuitous treatment of the sick (the provision for charge and recovery would, under the conditions, be quite futile, and is obviously introduced merely for tactical purposes), for the maintenance of the aged and infirm, and for the provision of work for all comers. Nothing, perhaps, is more extraordinary in the whole of these Reports than the easy complacency with which the attempts hitherto made to provide work and wages are condemned, and the light-heartedness with which it is here proposed to replace them with Maintenance under Training, and similar expedients. It seems to us an insult to the intelligence of the signatories of the Minority Report to suppose that they believe that their indictment of 'relief work for the unemployed' as a 'counsel of despair' does not apply equally to Maintenance under Training. It seems more courteous to suppose that they regard it as an experiment in the methods of Mrs Partington, which they are prepared to try for the sake of the weaker brethren, until, in the bankrupt confusion of our present system to which this policy would necessarily lead, a distracted public would welcome with acclamation the esoteric doctrine to which their hopes look forward—the complete organisation of labour and industry by the State. All this is very interesting as showing the views of certain theorists who have been allowed gradually to influence our public policy in a direction little suspected

by the majority whom they lead; but, as the country has not granted the postulate, we fail to see how it can be the least helpful to his Majesty's Government.

It is impossible in one article to touch on all the details of this bulky, but withal most interesting volume. It picks up threads of controversy which were started and left unsettled by Bentham, and takes us to the edge of the chasm which divides us from the socialist State. We select one or two points somewhat arbitrarily as illustrative of the bed-rock principles which are at hazard through the various proposals here discussed.

It was one of the favourite maxims of the Benthamite philosophy that the democracy is under no obligation to mismanage its own technical business. On the contrary, it is entitled to secure expert management by properly qualified persons for the more difficult branches of the public service. In the hands of Chadwick this idea was carried very far; and he made numerous calculations, all tending to show that the country would derive great benefit from an application of scientific principles to sanitation and medical relief. One of his mottoes with regard to the pauper population was 'Aggregate in order to Segregate.' It is a strange misconception to identify Chadwick and Bentham (so far as in this matter he was correctly represented by Chadwick) with the doctrine of *laissez-faire*. They really represent English common-sense. When the Government is definitely charged with a public service, it is its duty to adopt the best means; and the proposal now made by the majority to get rid of empirical management by unqualified Poor-Law authorities is a return to the position ineffectually advocated by Chadwick in 1832-4.

The problem, however, is not entirely solved. Herbert Spencer has epigrammatically put the difficulty. 'When the State builds with one hand, it must unbuild with the other.' Taxation is notoriously a costly and inefficient way of spending money; and the shifting of responsibility from the individual to the State is a relaxation of economic discipline that has a wide 'unbuilding' effect.

It is a point not yet solved, and only very rarely discussed, whether we may not purchase benefits such as facile conditions of relief, or immunity from, and highly

scientific treatment in disease, too dearly if, in the course of achieving them, we sacrifice the economic competence of the individual citizen ; for this last is the condition of social welfare on which the permanence and progress of social amelioration almost exclusively depends. We must not, in the rearrangements of our Poor-Law system, overlook this fact. We are glad therefore to notice that, in their marshalling of the army of public assistance, the Commissioners desire to have the aid of the friendly societies, and to inaugurate a practical scheme of provident medical associations.

Again, the Majority Report somewhat tentatively suggests that the Government might organise a system of insurance for invalidity and unemployment on a contributory basis. The suggestion that the scheme should be on a contributory basis is, we presume, a mark of homage to the principle of independence. We naturally sympathise ; but the situation is by no means simple. By common consent, after the Report of Lord Rothschild's Committee, it was admitted that contributory pension schemes for old age, if they were to include the lapsed classes, were in this country unworkable. Do the objections apply with equal force to pensions for invalidity and unemployment ?

In the first place, contributions could not be extracted from the worse-paid wage-earners. The scheme, therefore, if it is to be universal, would have to be gratuitous for a large section of the population ; and the exception would inevitably spread. Further, the ground is already covered in part by the Employers' Liability legislation, and by the Old-age Pensions Act, which in all probability will be widely extended. The benefits of these Acts are given gratuitously ; and there would be some difficulty in introducing a contributory scheme in competition with them. The situation is a strange one. The conclusive arguments set out by Lord Rothschild's Committee against contributory pension schemes induced Mr Chaplin, from his place at the Local Government Board, to order a larger distribution of out-door relief to the aged, and led the present Government to effect the same end by a gratuitous issue of old-age pensions. To every one but the distinguished statesmen concerned the arguments against facile out-door relief and gratuitous

pensions appear much stronger than those against contributory pensions; but this is the way in which the affairs of the nation are now managed. Politicians are now showing alarm at the cost of these universal gratuities; and there seems some disposition to retreat to the contributory system. This might, if not compulsory, be less costly, because it would largely remain a dead letter; but, if compulsory, it would certainly have to be gratuitous in respect of the lower and badly-paid grades of labour, so that it is questionable whether much economy would be effected.

The signatories of the Minority Report do not favour the idea of a compulsory and contributory insurance; and, except under the form of a subvention to such trade unions as give a benefit to members out of work, they appear to be opposed to the expedient of insurance. They prefer, as we understand it, to deal with the 'invalid' and the unemployed by the various forms of gratuitous treatment which they propose to substitute for the Poor-Law, and by the State organisation of the labour market. We do not venture, in the space at our disposal, to express any opinion on the subject; but the difficulty is illustrative of the inconvenience caused by the action of the Government in passing legislation on the subject of old-age pensions without waiting for the Report of the Commission.

One other matter we propose to notice. This is the recognition which the Report contains of the necessity of preserving and quickening the mobility of labour. The ability of labour to migrate and, what is even more important, to develop new aptitudes for service, is the key of the situation. The ceaseless ingenuity and the insatiable wants of mankind are together a sufficient guarantee that employment will always be changeable, and the demand for it unlimited. What is required therefore is an exchange or market to pass it into currency. The proposal is accordingly made that labour exchanges shall be set up with a view to drafting labour to the place in the market where its application will be profitable. We argued in the last issue of this Review that the ascent of labour, and of the reward of labour, depends on its sensitive response to the guidance of the market. A man has a right to take his services for sale

to the best market, and to take them away from the worst market, undeterred by such impediments as Poor-Law settlement (a grievous hindrance in the past) and trade-union monopoly (a modern infringement of liberty hardly less disastrous). If this movement and adaptation are not allowed, stagnation results; and labour loses touch with the warning and encouragement which low and high prices for services convey to the intelligent man who wishes to present his labour at the right place and of the right quality.

This fact seems to be recognised in the attention that is paid to the question of the mobility of labour, and to the need of quickened distribution of labour by the principle of exchange. While we welcome the proposal for a State establishment of labour exchanges as the homage which State regulation pays to private initiative, can we be sure that a State labour-exchange will really serve the purpose, as its authors believe? The success of labour-exchanges must largely depend on these offices gaining a reputation for providing good workers for the enquiring employer. In other words, if they are confined to being distributors of derelict and incompetent workers, their usefulness will be very problematical; and both Mr Beveridge and the Minority Report favour some measure of compulsion, obliging employers to engage their labourers through these exchanges, and requiring the labourers also to remove their names when they have found employment. Now it seems to us, viewing the vast range of our industry and the millions of contracts for the sale and purchase of labour, to be the wildest optimism to expect that any large proportion of this volume of contracts can be forced through the narrow channel of an artificially established labour-exchange. Such a proposal appears to ignore the fact that the existing machinery for the exchange of labour for wages is already ubiquitous, impalpable, and all-pervading; and that to advocate the subjection of this universal market to the red-tape of registration and cancellation is a stupendous and absurdly sanguine proposal. When, as in the Minority Report, we find it argued that exchange shall be made in the labour-exchange only, and under the further regulation of a Minimum Wages Board, we contend that the proposal is not one for exchange, but

for an enforced organisation of labour on lines which commend themselves to an authority other than that of the consent of the parties principally interested.

Mr Beveridge is emphatic on the point that the labour-exchanges are not to be part of our Poor-Law machinery ; and that registration there is not to confer any right to work, or any obligation on the public authority to start municipal or other forms of relief work. Happily, throughout these Reports there is an uncompromising condemnation of artificial relief works and of the recent Unemployed Workmen Act (1905). This is an immense step forward ; and, if this condemnation can be got into the mind of the public, the Royal Commission will not have sat in vain. We remember, however, how the machinery invented by the Commissioners of 1834 was rendered futile when entrusted to the hands of unqualified practitioners, and we see some danger that these labour-exchanges may be used, not as distributors of labour under economic influences, but as instruments for the congestion of labour, which has been beguiled into thinking that employment can be found for it without movement and without adaptation. This would certainly result if, at the back of registration, there were set up a right to have convenient work found at the spot and of the kind that the unemployed workmen in the first instance desired. While, therefore, we welcome the admission that a quickened exchange of labour is the most necessary requirement for reform, we are doubtful whether a Government labour-exchange is likely to preserve this character for long.

Of course the best opportunity for the right distribution of labour occurs when young people are leaving school. It is worthy of note, therefore, that our present school system comes in for some blame from the Commissioners, on the ground that it is useless from the point of view of enabling boys and girls to earn their living. The indictment is interesting and suggestive, coming as it does after nearly forty years of State education. If we add to this the condemnation levelled at municipal relief works, and at the Unemployed Workmen Act (1905), we might, if we did not know that this is the way of the world, express some surprise over the enthusiasm with which Government labour-exchanges

are now pressed on our attention. For ourselves, though we have no wish to oppose a possibly innocuous experiment which starts from the detection and exposure of older failures, we are extremely sceptical as to the benefits to be derived. We trust much more confidently to the growing recognition of the beneficence of a free market, which, if released from artificial obstacles, has a power of organisation that, compared with the labour-exchange office, is as the sun to a farthing rush-light.

The recommendations of the Report are, as we have said, very far-reaching and ambitious. It is not likely that any Government will undertake such wholesale change in one measure. We suggest that it might be wise to proceed experimentally, and to deal first with London. The administration of the law in London has been thoroughly discredited; and there would be less opposition to change there than in the country districts. The evidence, moreover, is clear that it is especially in London and the large boroughs that the law has got out of management.

In conclusion, we must earnestly appeal to our more responsible political leaders to use their influence with their followers to keep the subject apart from what Bentham used to call 'electioneering and bubbles.' The country has been extremely fortunate in having a strong and courageous man at the head of the Local Government Board. The task of legislating for London could not be entrusted to better hands. It was pointed out by Sir R. Peel, in the debates on the renewal of the Commissioners' authority, that legislation which had for its object the strict administration of funds to be spent on the relief of the poor could, even at that date, be most successfully introduced by the party which claimed specially to represent the democracy. To-day it requires perhaps something more, namely, a patriotic understanding between the leaders of the great political parties. It is difficult to exaggerate the danger and inconvenience which confronts any Government, be it Whig or Tory, which seeks to legislate on this delicate subject in the face of a determined and hostile Opposition.

Art. 12.—THE MEANING OF MODERNISM. ✓

1. *Decree of the Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition, 'Lamentabili sane exitu,'* July 3, 1907.
2. *Encyclical, 'Pascendi dominici gregis,'* Sept. 8, 1907.
3. *L'Évangile et l'Église. Autour d'un petit Livre.* By Alfred Loisy. Paris: Picard, 1902-3
4. *Simplex Réflexions. Les Évangiles Synoptiques.* By Alfred Loisy. Chez l'Auteur: Ceffonds, 1908.
5. *Lex Orandi, or Prayer and Creed. A much-abused Letter. Through Scylla and Charybdis. Medievalism, or the old Theology and the new.* By George Tyrrell. London: Longmans, 1903-8.
6. *Le Réalisme Chrétien et l'Idéalisme Grec.* By L. Laberthonnière. Paris: Lethielleux, 1904.
7. *Dogme et Critique.* By Édouard le Roy. Fourth edition. Paris: Librairie Bloud, 1907.
8. *Quello che vogliamo.* Privately printed. Translated by A. L. Lilley under the title, '*What we want; an open Letter to Pius X from a group of priests.*' London: Murray, 1907.
9. *The Programme of Modernism, a Reply to the Encyclical of Pius X.* Translated from the Italian by A. L. Lilley. London: Fisher Unwin, 1908.
10. *Modernismus.* By Prof. Karl Holl (Berlin). Tübingen: Mohr, 1908.

THE Liberal movement in the Roman Church is viewed by most Protestants with much the same mixture of sympathy and misgiving with which Englishmen regard the ambition of Russian reformers to establish a constitutional government in their country. Freedom of thought and freedom of speech are almost always desirable; but how, without a violent revolution, can they be established in a State which exists only as a centralised autocracy, held together by authority and obedience? This sympathy, and these fears, are likely to be strongest in those who have studied the history of Western Catholicism with most intelligence. From the Edict of Milan to the Encyclical of Pius X, the evolution which ended in papal absolutism has proceeded in accordance with what looks like an inner necessity of growth and decay. The task of predicting the policy of the Vatican is surely

not so difficult as M. Renan suggested, when he remarked to a friend of the present writer, 'The Church is a woman; it is impossible to say what she will do next.' For where is the evidence of caprice in the history of the Roman Church? If any State has been guided by a fixed policy, which has imposed itself inexorably on its successive rulers, in spite of the utmost divergences in their personal characters and aims, that State is the Papacy.

Beneath all the eddies which have broken the surface, the great stream has flowed on, and has flowed in one direction. The same logic of events which transformed the constitutional principate of Augustus into the sultanate of Diocletian and Valentinian, has brought about a parallel development in the Church which inherited the traditions, the policy, and the territorial sphere of the dead Empire. The second World-State which had its seat on the Seven Hills has followed closely in the footsteps of the first. It is not too fanciful to trace, as Harnack has done, the resemblance in detail—Peter and Paul in the place of Romulus and Remus; the bishops and archbishops instead of the proconsuls; the troops of priests and monks as the legionaries; while the Jesuits are the Imperial bodyguard, the protectors and sometimes the masters of the sovereign. One might carry the parallel further by comparing the schism between the Eastern and Western Churches, and the later defection of northern Europe, with the disruption of the Roman Empire in the fourth century; and in the sphere of thought, by comparing the scholastic philosophy and casuistry with the *Summa* of Roman law in the Digest.*

The fundamental principles of such a government are imposed upon it by necessity. In the first place, progressive centralisation, and the substitution of a graduated hierarchy for popular government, came about as inevitably in the Catholic Church as in the Mediterranean Empire of the Cæsars. The primitive colleges of presbyters soon fell under the rule of the bishops, the bishops under the patriarchs; and then Rome suffered her first great defeat in losing the Eastern

* Bishop Creighton always emphasised this view of Roman Catholicism. 'The Roman Church,' he wrote, 'is the most complete expression of Erastianism, for it is not a Church at all, but a state in its organisation; and the worst form of state—an autocracy.' ('Life and Letters,' ii, 375.)

patriarchates, which she could not subjugate. The truncated Church, no longer 'universal,' found itself obliged to continue the same policy of centralisation, and with such success that, under Innocent III, the triumph of the theocracy seemed complete. The Papacy dominated Europe *de facto*, and claimed to rule the world *de jure*. Boniface VIII, when the clouds were already gathering, issued the famous Bull 'Unam sanctam,' in which he said: 'Subesse Romano pontifici omnes humanas creaturas declaramus, definimus, et pronuntiamus omnino esse de necessitate salutis.' The claim is logical. A theocracy (when religion is truly monotheistic)* must claim to be universal *de jure*; and its ruler must be the infallibly inspired and autocratic vicegerent of the Almighty. He is the rightful lord of the world, whether he gives a continent to the King of Spain by a stroke of the pen, or whether his secular jurisdiction is limited by the walls of his palace. In the fourteenth century the Pope is already called 'dominus deus noster'—precisely the style in which Martial adulates Domitian. In the Bull of Pius V (1570) the claim of universal dominion is reiterated; it is asserted that the Almighty,

'cui data est omnis in caelo et in terra potestas, unam sanctam catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam, extra quam nulla est salus, uni soli in terris, videlicet apostolorum principi Petro Petrique successori Romano pontifici in potestatis plenitudine tradidit gubernandam.'

But the final victory of infallibilism was the achievement of the nineteenth century Jesuits, who completed the dogmatic apotheosis of the Pope at the moment when the last vestiges of his temporal power were being snatched from him.

Now, a government of this type is always in want of money. The spiritual Roman Empire was as costly an institution as the court and the bureaucracy of Diocletian and his successors. The same necessity which suppressed democracy in the Church drove it to elaborate an oppressive system of taxation, in which every weakness of human nature was systematically exploited for gain, and every morsel of divine grace placed on a tariff. But

* In contrast with 'henotheism' or 'monolatry,' such as the worship of the early Hebrews,

this method of raising revenue is only possible while the priests can persuade the people that they really control a treasury of grace, from which they can make or withhold grants at their pleasure. It stands or falls with a non-ethical and magical view of the divine economy which is hardly compatible with a high level of culture or morality. The Catholic Church has thus been obliged, for purely fiscal reasons, to discourage secular education, particularly of a scientific kind, and to keep the people, so far as possible, in the mental and moral condition most favourable to such transactions as the purchase of indulgences and the payment of various insurances against hell and purgatory.

Another necessity of absolute government is the repression of free criticism directed against itself. Heresy and schism in an autocratic Church take the place of treason against the sovereign. Cyprian, in the third century, had already laid down the principles by which alone the central authority could be maintained.

'Ab arbore frange ramum; fractus germinare non poterit. A fonte praeceide rivum; praecisus arescit. . . . Quisquis ab ecclesia separatus adulterae iungitur, a promissis ecclesiae separatur. Alienus est, hostis est. Habere non potest Deum patrem, qui ecclesiam non habet matrem.'

Schismatics are therefore rebels, whose lives are forfeit under the laws of treason. Heretics are in no better case; for the Church is the only infallible interpreter both of Scripture and of tradition; and to differ from her teaching is as disloyal as to secede from her jurisdiction. Even Augustine could say, 'I should not believe the Gospel, if the authority of the Church did not determine me to do so'; a statement which a modern ultramontane has capped by saying, 'Without the authority of the Pope, I should not place the Bible higher than the Koran.' Bellarmine claims an absolute monopoly of inspiration for the Roman Church on the ground that Rome alone has preserved the apostolic succession beyond dispute.* As for the treatment which heretics deserve, the same authority is very explicit.

* *'Nunc defecit certa successio in omnibus ecclesiis apostolicis, praeterquam in Romana, et ideo ex testimonio huius solius ecclesiae sumi potest certum argumentum ad probandas apostolicas traditiones.'* Bellarmine, *'De Verbo Dei scripto et non scripto,'* iv, ix, 10.

'In the first place, heretics do more mischief than any pirate or brigand, because they slay souls; nay more, they subvert the foundations of all good and fill the commonwealth with the disturbances which necessarily follow religious differences. In the second place, capital punishment inflicted on them has a good effect on very many persons. Many whom impunity was making indifferent are roused by these executions to consider what is the nature of the heresy which attracts them, and to take care not to end their earthly lives in misery and lose their future happiness. Thirdly, it is a kindness to obstinate heretics to remove them from this life. For, the longer they live, the more errors they devise, the more men they pervert, and the greater damnation they acquire for themselves.'*

In all matters which are not essential for the safety of the autocracy, an absolutist Church will consult the average tastes of its subjects. If the populace are at heart pagan, and hanker after sensuous ritual, dramatic magic, and a rich mythology, these must be provided. The 'intellectuals,' being few and weak, may be safely rebuffed or disregarded until their discoveries are thoroughly popularised. The pronouncements of the Roman Inquisition in the case of Galileo are typical.

'The theory that the sun is in the centre of the world, and stationary, is absurd, false in philosophy, and formally heretical, because it is contrary to the express language of Holy Scripture. The theory that the earth is not the centre of the world, nor stationary, but that it moves with a daily motion, is also absurd and false in philosophy, and, theologically considered, it is, to say the least, erroneous in faith.'

The exigencies of despotic government thus supply the key to the whole policy and history of the Papacy. 'The worst form of State' can only be bolstered up by the worst form of government. There should therefore be no difficulty in distinguishing between the official policy of the Roman See—which has been almost uniformly odious—and the history of the Christian religion in the Latin countries, which has added new lustre to human nature. The Catholic saints did not fly through the air, nor were their hearts pierced with supernatural darts, as the mendacious hagiology of their Church

* Bellarmine, 'De Laicis,' III, xxi, 22.

would have us believe; but they have a better title to be remembered by mankind, as the best examples of a beautiful and precious kind of human excellence.

The papal autocracy has now reached its Byzantine period of decadence. During the Middle Ages Catholicism suited the Latin races very well on the whole. Their ancestral paganism was allowed to remain substantially unchanged—the *nomina*, but not the *numina* were altered; their awe and reverence for the *caput orbis*, ingrained in the populations of Europe by the history of a thousand years, made submission to Rome natural and easy; a host of myths, 'abounding in points of attachment to human experience and in genial interpretations of life, yet lifted beyond visible nature and filling a reported world believed in on faith,'* adorned religion with an artistic and poetical embroidery very congenial to the nations of the South. But a monarchy essentially Oriental in its constitution is unsuited to modern Europe. Its whole scheme is based on keeping the laity in contented ignorance and subservience; and the laity have emancipated themselves. The Teutonic nations broke the yoke as soon as they attained a national self-consciousness. They escaped from a system which had educated, but never suited them. Nor has the shrinkage been merely territorial. The Pyrrhic victories over Gallicanism, Jansenism, Catholic democracy (Lamennais), historical theology (Döllinger and the old Catholics), each alienated a section of thinking men in the Catholic countries. The Roman Church can no longer be called Catholic, except in the sense in which the kingdom of Francis II remained the Holy Roman Empire. It is an exclusive sect, which preserves rather more political power than its dwindling numbers entitle it to exert, by means of its excellent discipline, and by the sinister policy of fomenting political disaffection. Examples are furnished by the contemporary history of Ireland, of France, of Austria, and of Poland.

These considerations are of primary importance when we try to answer the questions: To what extent is the Roman Church fettered by her own past? Is there any insuperable obstacle to a modification of policy which

* Santayana, 'Reason in Religion,' p. 108.

might give her a new lease of life? We have seen how much importance is attached to the Church's title-deeds. Is tradition a fatal obstacle to reform? Theoretically, the tradition which she traces back to the apostles gives her a fixed constitution. So the Catholic Church has always maintained. '*Regula quidem fidei una omnino est, sola immobilis et irreformabilis.*'* The rule of faith may be better understood by a later age than an earlier, but there can be no additions, only a sort of unpacking of a treasure which was given whole and entire in the first century. In reality, of course, there has been a steady evolution in conformity to type, the type being not the 'little flock' of Christ or the Church of the Apostles, but the absolute monarchy above described. It has long been the *cruce* of Catholic apologetics to reconcile the theoretical immobility of dogma with the actual facts.

The older method was to rewrite history. It was convenient, for example, to forget that Pope Honorius I had been anathematised by three ecumenical councils. The forged Decretals gave a more positive sanction to absolutist claims; and interpolations in the Greek Fathers deceived St Thomas Aquinas into giving his powerful authority to infallibilism. This method cannot be called obsolete, for the present Pope recently informed the faithful that 'the Hebrew patriarchs were familiar with the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, and found consolation in the thought of Mary in the solemn moments of their life.'† But such simple devices are hardly practicable in an age when history is scientifically studied. Moreover, other considerations, besides controversial straits, have suggested a new theory of tradition. A Cæsar who, like the kings of the Medes and Persians, is bound by the laws of his predecessors, is not absolute. Acceptance of the theory of development in dogma would relieve the Pope from the weight of the dead hand.

The new apologetic is generally said to have been inaugurated by Cardinal Newman. His work '*The Development of Christian Doctrine*,' is no doubt an epoch-making book, though the idea of tradition as the product of the living spirit of a religious society, preserving its moral identity while expressing itself, from

* Tertullian, '*De Virg. Vel.*,' 1.
Vol. 210.—No. 419.

† Encyclical of October 27, 1904.
2 P

time to time, in new forms, was already familiar to readers of Schleiermacher. Newman gives us several 'tests' of true development. These are—preservation of type; continuity of principles; power of assimilation; logical sequence; anticipation of results; tendency to conserve the old; chronic vigour. These tests, he considered, differentiate the Roman Church from all other Christian bodies, and prove its superiority. The Church has its own genius, which lives and works in it. This is indeed the Holy Spirit of God, promised by Jesus Christ. Through the operation of this spirit, old things become new, and fresh light is shed from the sacred pages of Scripture. Catholic tradition is, in fact, the glorified but ever-present Christ Himself, reincarnating Himself, generation after generation, in the historical Church. It is unnecessary to enquire whether there is apostolic authority for every new dogma, for the Church is the mouthpiece of the living Christ.

This theory marks, on one side, the complete and final apotheosis of the Pope and the hierarchy, who are thereby made independent even of the past history of the Church. Pius IX was not slow to appreciate that the only court of appeal against his decisions was closed in 1870. 'La tradizione sono io,' he said, in the manner of Louis XIV. The Pope is henceforth not the interpreter of a closed cycle of tradition, but the pilot who guides its course always in the direction of the truth. This is to destroy the old doctrine of tradition. The Church becomes the source of revelation instead of its custodian. On the other side, it is a perilous concession to modern ideas. There is an obvious danger that, as the result of this doctrine, the dogmas of the Church may seem to have only a relative and provisional truth; for, if each pronouncement were absolutely true, there would be no real development, and the appearance of it in history would become inexplicable.

This new and, in appearance, more liberal attitude towards modern ideas of progress has raised the hopes of many in the Roman Church whose minds and consciences are troubled by the ever-widening chasm which separates traditional dogma from secular knowledge. While dogma was stationary—*immobilis et irreformabilis*—there seemed to be no prospect except that the progress of human know-

ledge would leave theology further and further behind, till the rupture between Catholicism and civilisation became absolute. The idea that the Church would ever modify her teaching to bring it into harmony with modern science seemed utterly chimerical. But, if the static theory of revelation is abandoned, and a dynamic theory substituted for it; if the divine part of Christianity resides, not in the theoretical formulations of revealed fact, but in the living and energising spirit of the Church; why should not dogmatic theology become elastic, changing periodically in correspondence with the development of human knowledge, and no longer stand in irreconcilable contradiction with the ascertained laws of nature?

Thus the dethronement of tradition by the Pope contributed to make the Modernist movement possible. The Modernists have even claimed Newman as on their side. This appeal cannot be sustained. 'The Development of Christian Doctrine' is mainly a polemic against the high Anglican position, and an answer to attacks upon Roman Catholicism from this side. Anglicanism at that time had committed itself to a thoroughly stationary view of revelation. Its 'appeal to antiquity'—a period which, in accordance with a fantastic theory, it limited to the councils of the 'undivided Church'—was intended to prove the catholicity and orthodoxy of the English Church, as the faithful guardian of apostolic tradition, and to condemn the medieval and modern accretions sanctioned by the Church of Rome. The earlier theory of tradition left the Roman Church open to damaging criticism on this side; no ingenuity could prove that all her doctrines were 'primitive.' Even in those early days of historical criticism, it must have been plain to any candid student of Christian 'origins' that the Pauline Churches were far more Protestant than Catholic in type. But Newman had set himself to prove that 'the Christianity of history is not Protestantism; if ever there were a safe truth, it is this.' Accordingly, he argues that 'Christianity came into the world as an idea rather than an institution, and had to fit itself with armour of its own providing.' Such expressions sound very like the arguments of the Modernists; but Newman assuredly never contemplated that they would be turned against

the policy of his own Church, in the interests of the critical rationalism which he abhorred. His attitude towards dogma is after all not very different from that of the older school. 'Time was needed' (he says) 'for the elucidation of doctrines communicated once for all through inspired persons'; his examples are purgatory and the papal supremacy. He insists that his 'tests' of true development are only controversial, 'instruments rather than warrants of right decisions.' The only real 'warrant' is the authority of the infallible Church. It is highly significant that one of the features in Roman Catholicism to which he appeals as proving its unblemished descent from antiquity is its exclusiveness and intolerance.

'The Fathers' (he says complacently) 'anathematised doctrines, not because they were old, but because they were new; for the very characteristic of heresy is novelty and originality of manifestation. Such was the exclusiveness of the Christianity of old. I need not insist on the steadiness with which that principle has been maintained ever since.'

The Cardinal is right; it is quite unnecessary to insist upon it; but, when the Modernists claim Newman as their prophet, it is fair to reply that, if we may judge from his writings, he would gladly have sent some of them to the stake.

The Modernist movement, properly so called, belongs to the last twenty years, and most of the literature dates from the present century. It began in the region of ecclesiastical history, and soon passed to biblical exegesis, where the new heresy was at first called 'concessionism.' The scope of the debate was enlarged with the stir produced by Loisy's 'L'Évangile et l'Eglise' and 'Autour d'un Petit Livre'; it spread over the field of Christian origins generally, and problems connected with them, such as the growth of ecclesiastical power and the evolution of dogma. For a few years the orthodox in France generally spoke of the new tendency as *loisysme*. It was not till 1905 that Édouard Le Roy published his 'Qu'est-ce qu'un dogme?' which carried the discussion into the domain of pure philosophy, though the studies of Blondel and Laberthonnière in the psychology of religion may

be said to involve a metaphysic closely resembling that of Le Roy. Mr Tyrrell's able works, the titles of which appear at the head of this article, have a very similar philosophical basis, which is also assumed by the group of Italian priests who have remonstrated with the Pope.* M. Loisy protests against the classification made in the papal Encyclical, which connects biblical critics, metaphysicians, psychologists, and Church reformers, as if they were all partners in the same enterprise. But in reality the same presuppositions, the same philosophical principles, are found in all the writers named; and the differences which may easily be detected in their writings are comparatively superficial. The movement appears to be strongest in France, where the policy of the Vatican has been uniformly unfortunate of recent years, and has brought many humiliations upon French Catholics. Italy has also been moved, though from slightly different causes. In the protests from that country we find a tone of disgust at the constitution of the Roman hierarchy and the character of the papal *entourage*, about which Italians are in a position to know more than other Catholics. Catholic Germany has been almost silent; and Mr Tyrrell is the only Englishman whose name has come prominently forward.

It will be convenient to consider the position of the Modernists under three heads: their attitude towards New Testament criticism, especially in relation to the life of Christ; their philosophy; and their position in the Roman Catholic Church.

The Modernists themselves desire, for the most part, that criticism rather than philosophy should be regarded as the starting-point of the movement. 'So far from our philosophy dictating our critical method, it is the critical method that has of its own accord forced us to a very tentative and uncertain formulation of various philosophical conclusions. . . . This independence of our criticism is evident in many ways.'† The writers of this manifesto, and M. Loisy himself, appear not to perceive that their critical position rests on certain very important philosophical presuppositions; nor indeed is

* In 'The Programme of Modernism,' and 'Quello che vogliamo.'

† 'The Programme of Modernism,' p. 16,

any criticism of religious origins possible without pre-suppositions which involve metaphysics. The results of their critical studies, as bearing on the life of Christ, we shall proceed to summarise, departing as little as possible from the actual language of the writers, and giving references in all cases. It must, however, be remembered that some of the group, such as Mr Tyrrell, have not committed themselves to the more extreme critical views, while others, such as the Abbé Laberthonnière, the most brilliant and attractive writer of them all, hold a moderate position on the historical side. It is perhaps significant that those who are specialists in biblical criticism are the most radical members of the school.

The Gospels, says M. Loisy, are for Christianity what the Pentateuch is for Judaism. Like the Pentateuch, they are a patchwork and a compound of history and legend. The differences between them amount in many cases to unmistakable contradictions. In Mark the life of Jesus follows a progressive development. The first to infer His Messiahship is Simon Peter at Cæsarea Philippi; and Jesus Himself first declares it openly in His trial before the Sanhedrin. In Matthew and Luke, on the contrary, Jesus is presented to the public as the Son of God from the beginning of His ministry; He comes forward at once as the supreme Lawgiver, the Judge, the anointed of God. The Fourth Gospel goes much further still. His heavenly origin, His priority to the world, His co-operation in the work of creation and salvation, are ideas which are foreign to the other Gospels, but which the author of the Fourth Gospel has set forth in his prologue, and, in part, put into the mouth of John the Baptist.* The difference between the Christ of the Synoptic Gospels and the Christ of John may be summed up by saying that 'the Christ of the Synoptics is historical, but is not God; the Johannine Christ is divine, but not historical.'† But even Mark (according to M. Loisy) probably only incorporates the document of an eyewitness; his Gospel betrays Pauline influence.‡ The Gospel which bears his name is later than the destruc-

* 'The Programme of Modernism,' pp. 50-54.

† Loisy, 'Simples Réflexions,' p. 168.

‡ Ib. 'L'Évangile et l'Église,' pp. 3-5.

tion of Jerusalem, and was issued, probably about A.D. 75, by an unknown Christian, not a native of Palestine, who wished to write a book of evangelical instruction in conformity with the ideas of the Hellenic-Christian community to which he belonged.* The tradition connecting it with Peter may indicate that it was composed at Rome, but has no other historical value.†

The Gospel of Matthew was probably written about the beginning of the second century by a non-Palestinian Jew residing in Asia Minor or Syria. He is before all things a Catholic ecclesiastic, and may well have been one of the presbyters or bishops of the churches in which the institution of a monarchical episcopate took root.‡ The narratives peculiar to Matthew have the character rather of legendary developments than of genuine reminiscences. The historical value of these additions is *nil*. As a witness to fact, Matthew ranks below Mark, and even below Luke.§ In particular, the chapters about the birth of Christ seem not to have the slightest historical foundation. The fictitious character of the genealogy is proved by the fact that Jesus seems not to have known of His descent [from David]. The story of the virgin birth turns on a text from Isaiah. Of this part of the Gospel, Loisy says, 'rien n'est plus arbitraire comme exégèse, ni plus faible comme narration fictive.'|| Luke has taken more pains to compose a literary treatise than Mark or Matthew. The authorities which he follows seem to be—the source of our Mark, the so-called Matthew *logia*, and some other source or sources. But he treats his material more freely than Matthew. 'The lament of Christ over the holy city, His words to the women of Jerusalem, His prayer for His executioners, His promise to the penitent thief, His last words, are very touching traits, which may be in conformity with the spirit of Jesus, but which have no traditional basis.'¶ 'The fictitious character of the narratives of the infancy is less apparent in the Third Gospel than in the First, because the stories are much better constructed as legend, and do not resemble a *midrash* upon Messianic prophecies. "Le merveilleux en est moins banal et

* Loisy, 'Les Évangiles Synoptiques,' p. 119.

† Ib. p. 143.

§ Ib. pp. 138, 139.

¶ Ib. p. 166.

† Ib.

|| Ib. p. 104.

moins enfantin. Il paraît cependant impossible de leur reconnaître une plus grande valeur de fond."*

The Gospel of Luke was probably written (not by a disciple of St Paul) between 90 and 100 A.D.; but the earliest redaction, which traced the descent of Jesus from David through Joseph, has been interpolated in the interests of the later idea of a virgin birth. The first two chapters are interesting for the history of Christian beliefs, not for the history of Christ. As for the Fourth Gospel, it is enough to say that the author had nothing to do with the son of Zebedee, and that he is in no sense a biographer of Christ, but the first and greatest of the Christian mystics.†

The results of this drastic treatment of the sources may be realised by perusing chapter vii of Loisy's 'Les Évangiles Synoptiques.' The following is a brief analysis of this chapter, entitled 'La Carrière de Jésus.' Jesus was born at Nazareth about four years before the Christian era. His family were certainly pious, but none of His relatives seems to have accepted the Gospel during His lifetime. Like many others, the young Jesus was attracted by the terrifying preaching of John the Baptist, from whom He received baptism. When John was imprisoned He at once attempted to take his place. He began to preach round the lake of Galilee, and was compelled by the persistent demands of the crowd to 'work miracles.' This mission only lasted a few months; but it was long enough for Jesus to enrol twelve auxiliaries, who prepared the villages of Galilee for His coming, travelling two and two through the north of Palestine. Jesus found His audience rather among the *déclassés* of Judaism than among the Puritans. The staple of His teaching was the advent of the 'kingdom of God'—the sudden and speedy coming or return of the Messiah. This teaching was acceptable neither to Herod Antipas nor to the Pharisees; and their hostility obliged Jesus to fly for a short time to the Phœnician territory north of Galilee. But a conference between the Master and His disciples at Cæsarea Philippi ended in a determination to visit the capital and there proclaim Jesus as

* Loisy, 'Les Évangiles Synoptiques,' p. 169.

† Ib. 'Le Quatrième Évangile,' *passim*.

the promised Messiah. As they approached Jerusalem, even the ignorant disciples were frightened at the risks they were running, but Jesus calmed their fears by promising that they should soon be set on twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel. 'Jésus n'allait pas à Jérusalem pour y mourir.'*

The doomed prophet made his public entry into Jerusalem as Messiah, and, as a first act of authority, cleared the temple courts by an act of violence, in which He was doubtless assisted by His disciples. For some days after this He preached daily about the coming of the kingdom, and foiled with great dexterity the traps which His enemies laid for Him. 'But the situation could only end in a miracle or a catastrophe, and it was the catastrophe which happened.'† Jesus was arrested, after a brief scuffle between the satellites of the High Priest and the disciples; and the latter, without waiting to see the end, fled northwards towards their homes. When brought before Pilate, Jesus probably answered 'Yes' to the question whether He claimed to be a king; but 'la parole du Christ johannique, Mon royaume n'est pas de ce monde, n'aurait jamais pu être dite par le Christ d'histoire.' This confession led naturally to His immediate execution; after which

'on peut supposer que les soldats détachèrent le corps de la croix avant le soir et le mirent dans quelque fosse commune, où l'on jetait pêle-mêle les restes des suppliciés. Les conditions de sépulture furent telles qu'au bout de quelques jours il aurait été impossible de reconnaître la dépouille du Sauveur, quand même on l'aurait cherchée.'‡

The disciples, however, had been too profoundly stirred by hope to accept defeat. None of them had seen Jesus die; and though they knew that He was dead, they hardly realised it. Besides, they were fellow-countrymen of those who had asked whether Jesus was not Elijah, or even John the Baptist, come to life again. What more natural than that Peter should see the Master one day while fishing on the lake? 'The impulse once given, this belief grew by the very need which it had to strengthen itself.' Christ 'appeared also to the eleven.'

* Loisy, 'Les Évangiles Synoptiques,' p. 214.

† Ib. p. 218.

‡ Ib. p. 223.

So it was that their faith brought them back to Jerusalem, and Christianity was born.

'The supernatural life of Christ in the faithful and in the Church has been clothed in an historical form, which has given birth to what we might somewhat loosely call the Christ of legend.' So the Italian manifesto sums up the result of this reconstruction or denudation of the Gospel history.* 'Such a criticism,' say the authors not less frankly than truly, 'does away with the possibility of finding in Christ's teaching even the embryonic form of the Church's later theological teaching.'†

Readers unfamiliar with Modernist literature will probably have read the foregoing extracts with utter amazement. It seems hardly credible that such views should be propounded by Catholic priests, who claim to remain in the Catholic Church, to repeat her creeds, minister at her altars, and share her faith. What more, it may well be asked, have rationalist opponents of Christianity ever said, in their efforts to tear up the Christian religion by the roots, than we find here admitted by Catholic apologists? What is left of the object of the Church's worship if the Christ of history was but an enthusiastic Jewish peasant whose pathetic ignorance of the forces opposed to Him led Him to the absurd enterprise of attempting a *coup d'état* at Jerusalem? Is not Jesus reduced by this criticism to the same level as Theudas or Judas of Galilee? and, if this is the true account, what sentiment can we feel, when we read His tragic story, but compassion tinged with contempt?

And on what principles are such liberties taken with our authorities? What is the criterion by which it is decided that Christ said, 'I am a king,' but not 'My kingdom is not of this world'? Why must the resurrection have been only a subjective hallucination in the minds of the disciples? To these questions there is a plain answer. The non-intervention of God in history is an axiom with the Modernists. 'L'historien,' says M. Loisy, 'n'a pas à s'inspirer de l'agnosticisme pour écarter Dieu de l'histoire; il ne l'y rencontre jamais.'‡ It would be more

* 'The Programme of Modernism,' pp. 82, 83.

† Id. p. 90.

‡ Loisy, 'Simplex Réflexions,' p. 211.

accurate to say that, whenever the meeting takes place, 'the historian' gives the Other the cut direct.

But now comes in the peculiar philosophy by which the Modernists claim to rehabilitate themselves as loyal and orthodox Catholics, and to turn the flank of the rationalist position, which they have seemed to occupy themselves. The reaction against Absolutism has long since established itself in Germany and France. In England and Scotland the battle still rages; in America the rebound has been so violent that an extreme form of anti-intellectualism is now the dominant fashion in philosophy. It would have been easy to predict—and in fact the prediction was made—that the new world-construction in terms of will and action, which disparages speculative or theoretical truth and gives the primacy to what Kant called the practical reason, would be eagerly welcomed by Christian apologists, hard-pressed by the discoveries of science and biblical criticism. Protestants, in fact, had recourse to this method of apologetic before the Modernist movement arose. The Ritschlian theology in Germany (in spite of its 'static' view of revelation), and the *Symbolo-fidélisme* of Sabatier and Ménégoz, have many affinities with the position of Tyrrell, Laberthonnière, and Le Roy.

It is exceedingly difficult to compress into a few pages a fair and intelligible statement of a *Weltansicht* which affects the whole conception of reality, and which has many ramifications. There is an additional difficulty in the fact that few of the Modernists are more than amateurs in philosophy. They are quick to see the strategic possibilities of a theory which separates faith and knowledge, and declares that truths of faith can never come into collision with truths of fact, because they 'belong to different orders.' It suits them to follow the pragmatists in talking about 'freely chosen beliefs,' and 'voluntary certainty'; Mr Tyrrell even maintains that 'the great mass of our beliefs are reversible, and depend for their stability on the action or permission of the will.' But philosophy is for them mainly a controversial weapon. It gives them the means of justifying their position as Catholics who wish to remain loyal to their Church and her formularies, but no longer believe

in the miracles which the Church has always regarded as matters of fact. Nevertheless, an attempt must be made to explain a point of view which, to the plain man, is very strange and unfamiliar.

Two words are constantly in the mouth of Modernist controversialists in speaking of their opponents. The adherents of the traditional theology are 'intellectualists,' and their conception of reality is 'static.' The meaning of the latter charge may perhaps be best explained from Laberthonnière's brilliantly written essay, 'Le Réalisme Chrétien et l'Idéalisme Grec.' The Greeks, he says, were insatiable in their desire to *see*, like children. Blessedness, for them, consisted in a complete vision of reality; and, since thought is the highest kind of vision, salvation was conceived of by them as the unbroken contemplation of the perfectly true, good, and beautiful. Hence arose the philosophy of 'concepts'; they idealised nature by considering it *sub specie æternitatis*. Reality resided in the unchanging ideas; the mutable, the particular, the individual, was for them an embarrassment, a 'scandal of thought.' The sage always tries to escape from the moving world of becoming into the static world of being. But an ideal world, so conceived, can only be an abstraction, an impoverishment of reality. Such an idealism gives us neither a science of origins nor a science of ends. Greek wisdom sought eternity and forgot time; it sought that which never dies, and found that which never lives.

'An abstract doctrine, like that of Greek philosophy or of Spinoza, consists always in substituting for reality, by simplification, ideas or concepts which they think statically in their logical relations, regarding them at the same time as adequate representations and as essences immovably defined.'*

Hellenised Christianity, proceeds our critic, regarded the incarnation statically, as a fact in past history. But the real Christ is an object of faith. 'He introduces into us the principle of that which we ought to be. That which He reveals, He makes in revealing it.' In other words, Christ, and the God whom He reveals, are a power or force rather than a fact. 'A God who has nothing to become has nothing to do.' God is not the idea of ideas,

* Laberthonnière, 'Le Réalisme Chrétien et l'Idéalisme Grec,' pp. 44, 45.

but the being of beings and the life of our life. He is not a supreme notion, but a supreme life and an immanent action. He is not the 'unmoved mover,' but He is in the movement itself as its principle and end. While the Greeks conceived the world *sub specie æternitatis*, God is conceived by modern thought *sub specie temporis*. God's eternity is not a sort of arrested time in which there is no more life; it is, on the contrary, the maximum of life.

It is plain that we have here a one-sided emphasis on the dynamic aspect of reality no less fatal to sound philosophy than the exclusively static view which has been falsely attributed to the Greeks. A little clear thinking ought to be enough to convince any one that the two aspects of reality which the Greeks called *στάσις* and *κίνησις* are correlative and necessary to each other. A God who is merely the principle of movement and change is an absurdity. Time is always hurling its own products into nothingness. Unless there is a being who can say, 'I am the Lord, I change not,' the 'sons of Jacob' cannot flatter themselves that they are 'not consumed.*' But Laberthonnière and his friends are not much concerned with the ultimate problems of metaphysics; what they desire is to shake themselves free from 'brute facts' in the past, to be at liberty to deny them as facts, while retaining them as representative ideas of faith. If reality is defined to consist only in life and action, it is a meaningless abstraction to snip off a moment in the process, and ask, 'Did it ever really take place?' This awkward question may therefore be ignored as meaningless and irrelevant, except from the 'abstract' standpoint of physical science.

The crusade against 'intellectualism' serves the same end. M. Le Roy and the other Christian pragmatists have returned to the Nominalism of Duns Scotus. The following words of Frassen, one of Scotus' disciples, might serve as a motto for the whole school:

'Theologia nostra non est scientia. Nullatenus speculativa est, sed simpliciter practica. Theologiae obiectum non est speculabile, sed operabile. Quidquid in Deo est practicum est respectu nostri.'

M. Le Roy also seems to know only these two categories.

* Malachi iii, 6.

Whatever is not 'practical'—having an immediate and obvious bearing on conduct—is stigmatised as 'theoretical' or 'speculative.' But the whole field of scientific study lies outside this classification, which pretends to be exhaustive. Science has no 'practical' aim, in the narrow sense of that which may serve as a guide to moral action; nor does it deal with 'theoretical' or 'speculative' ideas, except provisionally, until they can be verified. The aim of science is to determine the laws which prevail in the physical universe; and its motive is that purely disinterested curiosity which is such an embarrassing phenomenon to pragmatists. And since the faith which lies behind natural science is at least as strong as any other faith now active in the world, it is useless to frame categories in such a way as to exclude the question, 'Did this or that occurrence, which is presented as an event in the physical order, actually happen, or not?' The question has a very definite meaning for the man of science, as it has for the man in the street. To call it 'theoretical' is ridiculous.

What M. Le Roy means by 'interpreting dogmas in the language of practical action' may be gathered from his own illustrations. The dogma, 'God is our Father,' does not define a 'theoretical relation' between Him and us. It signifies that we are to behave to Him as sons behave to their father. 'God is personal' means that we are to behave to Him as if He were a human person. 'Jesus is risen' means that we are to think of Him as if He were our contemporary. The dogma of the Real Presence means that we ought to have, in the presence of the consecrated Host, the same feelings which we should have had in the presence of the visible Christ. 'Let the dogmas be interpreted in this way, and no one will dispute them.'*

The same treatment of dogma is advocated in Mr Tyrrell's very able book 'Lex Orandi.' The test of truth for a dogma is not its correspondence with phenomenal fact, but its 'prayer-value.' This writer, at any rate before his suspension by the Society of Jesus, to which he belonged, is less subversive in his treatment of history than the French critics whom we have quoted. Although

* Le Roy, 'Dogme et Critique,' p. 26.

in apologetics the criterion for the acceptance of dogmas must, he thinks, be a moral and practical one, he sometimes speaks as if the 'prayer-value' of an ostensibly historical proposition carried with it the necessity of its truth as matter of fact.

'Between the inward and the outward, the world of reality and the world of appearances, the relation is not merely one of symbolic correspondence. The distinction that is demanded by the dualism of our mind implies and presupposes a causal and dynamic unity of the two. We should look upon the outward world as being an effectual symbol of the inward, in consequence of its natural and causal connection therewith.'*

But Mr Tyrrell does not seem to mean all that these sentences might imply. He speaks repeatedly, in the 'Lex Orandi,' of the 'will-world' as the only real world.

'The will' (he says) 'cannot make that true which in itself is not true. But it can make that a fact relatively to our mind and action which is not a fact relative to our understanding.' 'It rests with each of us by an act of will to create the sort of world to which we shall accommodate our thought and action.' 'It does not follow that harmony of faith with the truths of reason and facts of experience is the best or essential condition of its credibility.' 'Abstractions' (he refers to the world as known to science) 'are simple only because they are barren forms created by the mind itself. Faith and doubt have a common element in the deep sense of the insufficiency of the human mind to grasp ultimate truths.' 'The world given to our outward senses is shadowy and dreamy, except so far as we ascribe to it some of the characteristics of will and spirit.' 'The world of appearance is simply subordinate to the real world of our will and affections.'

Because the 'abstract' sciences cannot and do not attempt to reach ultimate truth, it is assumed that they are altogether 'barren forms.' This is the error of much Oriental mysticism, which denies all value to what it regards as the lower categories. In his later writings Mr Tyrrell objects to being classed with the American and English pragmatists—the school of Mr William James. But the doctrine of these passages is ultra-pragmatist. The will, which is illegitimately stretched

* 'Lex Orandi,' p. 165 (abridged).

to include feeling,* is treated as the creator as well as the discerner of reality. The 'world of appearance' is plastic in its grasp. It is this metaphysical pragmatism which is really serviceable to Modernism. If the categories of the understanding can be so disparaged as to be allowed no independent truth, value, or importance, all collisions between faith and fact may be avoided by discrediting in advance any conclusions at which science may arrive. Assertions about 'brute fact' which are scientifically false may thus not be untrue when taken out of the scientific plane, because outside that plane they are harmless word-pictures, soap-bubbles blown off by the poetical creativeness of faith. Any assertion about fact which commends itself to the will and affections, and which is proved by experience to furnish nutriment to the spiritual life, may be adhered to without scruple. It is not only useful, but true, in the only sense in which truth can be predicated of anything in the higher sphere.

The obvious criticism on this notion of religious truth as purely moral and practical is that it is itself abstract and one-sided. The universe as it appears to discursive thought, with its vast system of seemingly uniform laws, which operate without much consideration for our wishes or feelings, must be at least an image of the real universe. We cannot accept the irreconcilable dualism between the will-world and the world of phenomena which the philosophical Modernists assume. The dualism, or rather the contradiction, is not in the nature of things, nor in the constitution of our minds, but in the consciousness of the unhappy men who are trying to combine two wholly incompatible theories. On the critical side they are pure rationalists, much as they dislike the name. They claim, as we have seen, to have advanced to philosophy

* This is not carelessness on the part of the writer. Paulsen also says ('Introduction to Philosophy,' p. 112), 'It is impossible to separate feeling and willing from each other. . . . Only in the highest stage of psychical life, in man, does a partial separation of feeling from willing occur.' But it is the highest stage of psychical life, the human, with which we are alone concerned; and in this stage it is both possible and necessary to distinguish between feeling and willing. Some Voluntarists, hard pressed by facts, try to make 'will' cover the whole of conscious and subconscious life, with the exception of discursive thought, which is excluded as a sort of pariah!

through criticism. But the Modernist critics start with very well-defined presuppositions. They ridicule the notion that 'God is a personage in history'; they assume that for the historian 'He cannot be found anywhere'; that He is as though He did not exist. On the strength of this presupposition, and for no other reason, they proceed to rule out, without further investigation, all alleged instances of divine intervention in history. Unhindered by any of the misgivings which predispose the ordinary believer to conservatism, they follow the rationalist argument to its logical conclusions with startling ruthlessness. And then, when the whole edifice of historical religion seems to have been overthrown to the very foundations, they turn round suddenly and say that all their critical labours mean nothing for faith, and that we may go on repeating the old formulas as if nothing had happened.

The Modernists pour scorn on the scholastic 'faculty-psychology,' which resolves human personality into a syndicate of partially independent agents; but, in truth, their attempt to blow hot and cold with the same mouth seems to have involved them in a more disastrous self-disruption than has been witnessed in the history of thought since the fall of the Nominalists. In a sceptical and disillusioned age their disparagement of 'intellectualism,' or rather of discursive thought in all its operations, might find a response. But in the twentieth century the science which, as critics, they follow so unswervingly will not submit to be bowed out of the room as soon as matters of faith come into question. Our contemporaries believe that matters of fact are important, and they insist, with ever-increasing emphasis, that they shall not be called upon to believe, as part of their religious faith, anything which, as a matter of fact, is not true. The Modernist critic, when pressed on this side, says that it is natural for faith to represent its ideas in the form of historical facts, and that it is this inevitable tendency which causes the difficulties between religion and science. A sane criticism will allow that this is very largely true, but will not, we are convinced, be constrained to believe with M. Loisy that the historical original of the Christian Redeemer was the poor deluded enthusiast whom he portrays in '*Les Évangiles Synoptiques*.'

However this may be—and it must remain a matter of opinion—the very serious question arises, whether it is really natural for faith to represent its ideas in the form of historical facts when it knows that these facts have no historical basis. The writers with whom we are dealing evidently think that it is natural and inevitable, and we must assume that they speak from their own spiritual experience. But this state of mind does not seem to be a very common one. Those who believe in the divinity of Christ, but not in His supernatural birth and bodily resurrection, do not, as a rule, make those miracles the subject of their meditations, but find their spiritual sustenance in communion with the Christ who is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. Those who regard Jesus only as a prophet sent by God to reveal the Father, generally pray only to the God whom He revealed, and cherish the memory of Jesus with no other feelings than supreme gratitude and veneration. Those, lastly, who worship in God only the Great Unknown who makes for righteousness, find myths and anthropomorphic symbols merely disturbing in such devotions as they are still able to practise. In dealing with convinced Voluntarists it is perhaps not disrespectful to suggest that the difficult position in which they find themselves has produced a peculiar psychological reaction, such as is seldom found under normal conditions.

We pass to the position of the Modernists in the Roman Catholic Church. It is well known that the advisers of Pius X have committed the Papacy to a wholesale condemnation of the new movement. The reasons for this condemnation are thus summed up by a distinguished ecclesiastic of that Church: *

‘Why has the Pope condemned the Modernists? (1) Because the Modernists have denied that the divine facts related in the Gospel are historically true. (2) Because they have denied that Christ for most of His life knew that He was God, and that He ever knew that He was the Saviour of the world. (3) Because they have denied the divine sanction and the perpetuity of the great dogmas which enter into the Christian creed. (4) Because they have denied that Christ Himself

* Mgr Moyes, in ‘The Nineteenth Century,’ December 1907.

personally ever founded the Church or instituted the Sacraments. (5) Because they deny and subvert the divine constitution of the Church, by teaching that the Pope and the bishops derive their powers, not directly from Christ and His Apostles, but from the Christian people.'

The official condemnation is contained in two documents—the decree of the Holy Inquisition, '*Lamentabili sane exitu*,' July 3, 1907, and the Encyclical, '*Pascendi dominici gregis*,' September 8, 1907. These pronouncements are intended for Catholics; and their tone is that of authoritative denunciation rather than of argument. In the main, the summary which they give of Modernist doctrines is as fair as could be expected from a judge who is passing sentence; but the papal theologians have not always resisted the temptation to arouse prejudice by misrepresenting the views which they condemn. We have not space to analyse these documents, nor is it necessary to do so. It will be more to the purpose to consider whether, in spite of their official condemnation, the Modernists are likely in the future to make good their footing in the Roman Church.

Even before the Encyclical the Modernists had used very bold language about the authority of the Church.

'The visible Church' (writes Mr Tyrrell in his 'Much-abused Letter') 'is but a means, a way, a creature, to be used where it helps, to be left where it hinders. . . . Who have taught us that the consensus of theologians cannot err, but the theologians themselves? Mortal, fallible, ignorant men like ourselves! . . . Their present domination is but a passing episode in the Church's history. . . . May not history repeat itself? [as in the transition from Judaism to Christianity]. Is God's arm shortened that He should not again out of the very stones raise up seed to Abraham? May not Catholicism, like Judaism, have to die in order that it may live again in a greater and grander form? Has not every organism got its limits of development, after which it must decay and be content to survive in its progeny? Wine-skins stretch, but only within measure; for there comes at last a bursting-point when new ones must be provided.'

In a note he explains: 'The Church of the Catacombs became the Church of the Vatican; who can tell what the Church of the Vatican may not turn into?'

It is thus on a very elastic theory of development that the Modernists rely. 'The differences between the larval and final stages of many an insect are often far greater than those which separate kind from kind.' And so this Proteus of a Church, which has changed its form so completely since the Gospel was first preached in the subterranean galleries of Rome, may undergo another equally startling metamorphosis and come to believe in a God who never intervenes in history. We may here remind our readers of Newman's tests of true development, and mark the enormous difference.

Mr Tyrrell's 'Much-abused Letter' reaches, perhaps, the high-water mark of Modernist claims. Not all the writers whom we have quoted would view with complacency the prospect of the Catholic Church dying to live again, or being content to live only in its progeny. The proverb about the new wine-skins is one of sinister augury in such a connexion. If the Catholic Church is really in such an advanced stage of decay that it must die before it can live, why do those who grasp the situation wish to keep it alive? Are they not precisely pouring their new wine into old bottles? Mr Tyrrell himself draws the parallel with Judaism in the first century. Paul, he says, 'did not feel that he had broken with Judaism.' But the Synagogue did feel that he had done so, and history proved that the Synagogue was right.

Development, however great the changes which it exhibits, can only follow certain laws; and the development of the Church of Rome has steadily followed a direction opposite to that which the Modernists demand that it shall take. Newman might plausibly claim that the doctrines of purgatory and of the papal supremacy are logically involved in the early claims of the Roman Church. The claim is true at least in this sense, that, given a political Church organised as an autocracy, these useful doctrines were sure, in the interests of the government, to be promulgated sooner or later. But there is not the slightest reason to suppose that the next development will be in the direction of that peculiar kind of Liberalism favoured by the Modernists. It is difficult to see how the Vatican could even meet the reformers half-way without making ruinous concessions. 'This

supernatural mechanism,' M. Loisy says in his last book, 'Modernism tends to ruin completely.' Just so; but the Roman Church lives entirely on the faith in supernatural mechanism. Her sacramental and sacerdotal system is based on supernatural mechanism—on divine interventions in the physical world conditioned by human agency; her theology and books of devotion are full of supernatural mechanism; the lives of her saints, her relics and holy places, the whole literature of Catholic mysticism, the living piety and devotion of the faithful, wherever it is still to be found, are based entirely on that very theory of supernaturalistic dualism which the Modernist, when he acts as critic, begins by ruling out as devoid of any historical or scientific actuality. The attractiveness of Catholicism as a cult depends almost wholly on its frank admission of the miraculous as a matter of daily occurrence. To rationalise even contemporary history as M. Loisy has rationalised the Gospels would be suicide for Catholicism.

It is tempting to give a concrete instance by way of illustrating the impassable chasm which divides Catholicism as a working system from the academic scheme of transformation which we have been considering.

'The French Catholics' (writes the 'Times' correspondent in Paris on June 25, 1908) 'are awaiting with concern the report of a special commission on a mysterious affair known as the Miraculous Hailstones of Remiremont. On Sunday, May 26, 1907, during a violent storm that swept over that region of the Vosges, among the great quantity of hailstones that fell at the time a certain number were found split in two. On the inner face of each of the halves, according to the local papers that appeared the next day, was the image of the Madonna venerated at Remiremont and known as Notre Dame du Trésor. The local Catholics regarded it as a reply to the municipal council's veto of the procession in honour of the Virgin. So many people testified to having seen the miraculous hailstones that the bishop of Saint-Dié instituted an inquiry. 107 men, women, and children were heard by the parish priest, and certain well-known men of science [names given] were consulted. The report has just been published in the "Semaine Religieuse," and concludes in favour of the absolute authenticity of the fact under inquiry. . . . The last word rests with the bishop, who will decide according to the conclusions of the report of the special commission.'

This is Catholicism in practice. Those who think to reform it by their contention that supernatural interventions can never be matters of fact, are liable to the reproach which they most dislike—that of scholastic intellectualism, and neglect of concrete experience.

This denial of the supernatural as a factor in the physical world seems to us alone sufficient to make the position of the Modernists in the Roman Church untenable. That form of Christianity stands or falls with belief in miracles. It has always sought to bring the divine into human life by intercalating acts of God among facts of nature. Its whole sacred literature, as we have said, is penetrated through and through by the belief that God continually intervenes to change the course of events. What would become of the cult of Mary and the saints if it were recognised that God does not so interfere, and that the saints, if criticism allows that they ever existed, can do nothing by their intercessions to avert calamity or bring blessing? The Modernist priest, it appears, can still say 'Ora pro nobis' to a Mary whose biography he believes to be purely mythical. At any rate, he can tell his consultants with a good conscience that if they pray to Mary for grace they will receive it. But what is the good of this make-believe? And, if it is part of a transaction in which the worshipper pays money for assistance which he believes to be miraculous and only obtainable through the good offices of the Church, is it even morally honest? The worshipper may be helped by his subjective conviction that his cheque on the treasury of merit has been honoured; but if, apart from the natural effects of suggestion, nothing has been given him but a mere *placebo*, is the sacerdotal office one which an honourable man would wish to fill?

We have no wish whatever to make any imputation against the motives of the brave men who have withstood the thunders of the Vatican, and who in some cases have been professionally ruined by their courageous avowal of their opinions. Perhaps none but a Catholic priest can understand how great the sacrifice is when one in this position breaks away from the authority of those who speak in the name of the Church, and deliberately incurs the charge, still so terrible in Catholic ears, of being a heretic and a teacher of heresy. Not one man in twenty

would dare to face the storm of obloquy, hatred, and calumny which is always ready to fall on the head of a heretical priest. The Encyclical indicates the measures which are to be taken officially against Modernists. Pius X ordains that all the young professors suspected of Modernism are to be driven from their chairs in the seminaries; that infected books are to be condemned indiscriminately, even though they may have received an *imprimatur*; that a committee of censors is to be established in every diocese for the revision of books; that meetings of liberal priests or laymen are to be forbidden; that every diocese is to have a vigilance committee to discover and inform against Modernists; and that young clerical Modernists are to be put 'in the lowest places,' and held up to the contempt of their more orthodox or obsequious comrades. But this persecution is as nothing compared with the crushing condemnation with which the religious world, which is his only world, visits this kind of contumacy; the loss of friendships, the grief and shame of loved relatives, and the haunting dread that an authority so august as that which has condemned him cannot have spoken in vain. Assuredly all lovers of truth must do homage to the courage and self-sacrifice of these men. The doubt which may be reasonably felt and expressed as to the consistency of their attitude reflects no discredit on them personally. Nevertheless, the alternative must be faced, that a 'modernised' Catholicism must either descend to deliberate quackery, or proclaim that the bank from which the main part of her revenues is derived has stopped payment.

What will be the end of the struggle, and in what condition will it leave the greatest Church in Christendom? There are some who think that the Church will grow tired of the attitude of Canute, and will retreat to the chair which Modernism proffers, well above high-water mark. But the policy of Rome has never been concession, but repression, even at the cost of alienating large bodies of her supporters; and we believe that in the present instance, as on former occasions, the Vatican will continue to proscribe Modernism until the movement within her body is crushed. She can hardly do otherwise, for the alternative offered is not a gradual reform

of her dogmas, but a sweeping revolution. This we have made abundantly clear by quotations from the Modernists themselves. If the Vatican once proclaimed that such views about supernaturalism as those which we have quoted are permissible, a deadly wound would be inflicted on the faith of simple Catholics all over the world. The Vicar of Christ would seem to them to have apostatised. The whole machinery of piety, as practised in Catholic countries, would be thrown out of gear. Nor is there any strong body of educated laymen, such as exists in the Protestant Churches, who could influence the Papacy in the direction of Liberalism. Not only are the laity taught that their province is to obey, and never to call in question the decisions of ecclesiastics, but the large majority of thoughtful laymen have already severed their connexion with the Church, and take no interest in projects for its reform. Everything points to a complete victory for the Jesuits and the orthodox party; and, much as we may regret the stifling of free discussion, and the expulsion of earnest and conscientious thinkers from the Church which they love, it is difficult to see how any other policy could be adopted.

Of the Modernists, a few will secede, others will remain in the Church, though in open revolt against the Vatican; but the majority will be silenced, and will make a lip-submission to authority. The disastrous results of the rebellion, and of the means taken to crush it, will be apparent in the deterioration of the priesthood. Modern thought, it will be said, has now been definitively condemned by the Church; war has been openly declared against progress. Many who, before the crisis of the last few years, believed it possible to enter the Roman Catholic priesthood without any sacrifice of intellectual honesty, will in the future find it impossible to do so. We may expect to see this result most palpable in France, where men think logically, and are but little influenced by custom and prejudice. Unless the Republican Government blows the dying embers into a blaze by unjust persecution, it is to be feared that Catholicism in that country may soon become '*une quantité négligeable.*' The prospects of the Church in Italy and Spain do not seem very much better. In fact the only comfort which we can suggest to those who regret the decline of an

august institution, is that decadent autocracies have often shown an astonishing toughness. But as head of the universal Church, in any true sense of the word, Rome has finished her life. *ugh*

A more vital question, for those at least who are Christians, but not Roman Catholics, is in what shape the Christian religion will emerge from the assaults upon traditional beliefs which science and historical criticism are pressing home. We have given our reasons for rejecting the Modernist attempt at reconstruction. In the first place, we do not feel that we are required by sane criticism to surrender nearly all that M. Loisy has surrendered. We believe that the kingdom of God which Christ preached was something much more than a patriotic dream. We believe that He did speak as never man spake, so that those who heard Him were convinced that He was more than man. We believe, in short, that the object of our worship was a historical figure. Nothing has yet come to light, or is likely to come to light, which prevents us from identifying the Christ of history with the Christ of faith, or the Christ of experience.

But, if too much is surrendered on one side, too much is taken back on the other. The contention that the progress of knowledge has left the traditional beliefs and cultus of Catholics untouched is untenable. It is not too much to say that the whole edifice of supernaturalistic dualism under which Catholic piety has sheltered itself for fifteen hundred years has fallen in ruins to the ground. There is still enough superstition left to win a certain vogue for miraculous cures at Lourdes, and split hailstones at Remiremont. But that kind of religion is doomed, and will not survive three generations of sound secular education given equally to both sexes. The craving for signs and wonders—that broad road which attracts so many converts and wins so rapid a success—leads religion at last to its destruction as Christ seems to have warned His own disciples. Science has been the slowly advancing Nemesis which has overtaken a barbarised and paganised Christianity. She has come with a winnowing fan in her hand, and she will not stop till she has thoroughly purged her floor. She has left us the divine Christ, whatever may be the truth about

*Read Macaulay's Review of
The Reader's
You Rourke in connection
with the Bible*

certain mysterious events in His human life. But assuredly she has not left us the right to offer wheedling prayers to a mythical Queen of Heaven; she has not left us the right to believe in such puerile stories as the Madonna-stamp on hailstones, in order to induce a comfortably pious state of mind.

The dualism alleged to exist between faith and knowledge will not serve. Man is one, and reality is one; there can no more be two 'orders of reality' not affecting each other than there can be two faculties in the human mind working independently of each other. The universe which is interpreted to us by our understanding is not unreal, nor are its laws pliant to our wills, as the pragmatists do vainly talk. It is a divinely ordered system, which includes man, the roof and crown of things, and Christ, in whom is revealed to us its inner character and meaning. It is not the province of faith to flout scientific knowledge, nor to contaminate the material on which science works by intercalating what M. Le Roy calls 'transhistorical symbols'—myths in fact—which do not become true by being recognised as false, as the new apologetic seems to suggest. Faith is not the born story-teller of Modernist theology. Faith is, on the practical side, just the resolution to stand or fall by the noblest hypothesis; and, on the intellectual side, it is a progressive initiation, by experiment which ends in experience, into the unity of the good, the true, and the beautiful, founded on the inner assurance that these three attributes of the divine nature have one source and conduct to one goal.

The Modernists are right in finding the primary principle of faith in the depths of our undivided personality. They are right in teaching that faith develops and comes into its own only through the activity of the whole man. They are right in denying the name of faith to correct opinion, which may leave the character untouched. As Hartley Coleridge says:

'Think not the faith by which the just shall live
Is a dead creed, a map correct of heaven,
Far less a feeling fond and fugitive,
A thoughtless gift, withdrawn as soon as given.
It is an affirmation and an act
That bids eternal truth be present fact.'

For all this we are grateful to them. But we maintain that the future of Christianity is in the hands of those who insist that faith and knowledge must be confronted with each other till they have made up their quarrel. The crisis of faith cannot be dealt with by establishing a *modus vivendi* between scepticism and superstition. That is all that Modernism offers us ; and it will not do. Rather we will believe, with Clement of Alexandria, that *πιστὴ ἡ γνῶσις, γνῶστί δὲ ἡ πίστις*.

If this confidence in the reality of things hoped for and the hopefulness of things real be well-founded, we must wait in patience for the coming of the wise master-builders who will construct a more truly Catholic Church out of the fragments of the old, with the help of the material now being collected by philosophers, psychologists, historians, and scientists of all creeds and countries. When the time comes for this building to rise, the contributions of the Modernists will not be described as wood, hay, or stubble. They have done valuable service to biblical criticism, and in other branches, which will be always recognised. But the building will not (we venture to prophesy) be erected on their plan, nor by their Church. History shows few examples of the rejuvenescence of decayed autocracies. If the Catholic Church of the future is to have a local centre—which is improbable—Rome is perhaps the place least likely to provide it. Nor is our generation likely to see much of the reconstruction. The churches, as institutions, will continue for some time to show apparent weakness ; and other moralising and civilising agencies will do much of their work. But, since there never has been a time when the character of Christ and the ethics which he taught have been held in higher honour than the present, there is every reason to expect that the next 'Age of Faith,' when it comes, will be of a more genuinely Christian type than the last.

W. R. INGE.

Art. 13.—ENGLISH PARTY GOVERNMENT.

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3. *The English Constitution.* By Walter Bagehot. New edition. London: Kegan Paul, 1878.
4. *The Law and Custom of the Constitution.* By Sir William Anson. Third edition. Vol. II: The Crown. Parts I and II. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907-8.

‘MEASURED by the standards of duration, absence of violent commotions, maintenance of law and order, general prosperity and contentment of the people, and by the extent of its influence on the institutions and political thought of other lands, the English government has been one of the most remarkable the world has ever known. An attempt, therefore, to study it at any salient epoch cannot be valueless; and the present is a salient epoch, for the nation has now enjoyed something very near to manhood suffrage in the boroughs for forty years, and throughout the country more than twenty years—a period long enough for democracy to produce its primary if not its ultimate effects. Moreover, England has one of the most interesting of popular governments, because it has had a free development, little hampered by rigid constitutional devices. It is an organism constantly adapting itself to its environment, and hence in full harmony with national conditions. An endeavour has been made in these volumes to portray the present form of that organism and the forces which maintain its equilibrium.’ (Lowell, Pref. v.).

These are the words in which Mr Lowell describes the task he has undertaken. No man was ever better qualified for its performance. He is thoroughly acquainted with the constitutions and the parties of continental Europe; he has meditated long and deeply on the institutions of the United States; he has mastered with an infinity of care every detail of our English parliamentary and administrative system. There is nothing left for him to learn by way of information

from May or from Sir W. Anson, or by way of constitutional theory from Mr Bryce or from Bagehot. He is not a British subject, and therefore approaches the study of our public life with a disinterested impartiality impossible to a public-spirited Englishman who is of necessity immersed in the political conflicts of the day. But he is a member of the great English people. He can look at our institutions from an English, and therefore from the true point of view, and can understand almost intuitively many things which perplexed and misled the analytical genius of Tocqueville, and have not been thoroughly mastered by the learning and the thoughtfulness of Ostrogorski. Hence our author has achieved a success as sudden as it assuredly will be permanent.

Mr Lowell's 'Government of England' at once took its place among the best of the treatises which, since the age of Montesquieu, have analysed the working and the spirit of the English constitution. There is, however, some danger lest the extent and the minuteness of our author's knowledge should conceal from many readers the originality of his thought; lest the importance of his constitutional doctrine should lie hidden under the mass of his information. The exhaustive chapters indeed on municipal trading, on public elementary education, on the organisation and the revenues of the Church, on the Crown colonies, and a score more of interesting topics, are past praise. They must be read, however, not as isolated essays, but as illustrations or outgrowths of Mr Lowell's constitutional theories. His conception and analysis of party government in England colours every page of his two volumes and constitutes the originality and, to Englishmen at any rate, the importance of his work. The aim of this article is to examine and explain his view of party government in England and to consider how far it deserves complete acceptance.

The leading conception, the *idée mère*—to borrow an untranslatable French expression—which gives unity to Mr Lowell's analysis of the English constitution, is the perception of the intimate connexion between the Cabinet and our whole party system, as they each exist and flourish in modern England. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that in his eyes the Cabinet and party government are but two sides or aspects of one and the

same constitutional fact. This statement needs both explanation and elucidation.

Mr Lowell, in common with every Englishman of intelligence who, since 1867, has written on English constitutionalism, belongs to the school of Bagehot. He has accepted to the full the doctrine revealed by Bagehot's genius to the English public—that the Cabinet is, as things now stand, the true English executive and the very centre of our whole government. This discovery—for it was nothing less—contained in Bagehot's 'English Constitution,' swept away a whole host of misconceptions which had obscured the nature of English constitutionalism and thereby perplexed all speculations with regard to popular government, in so far as they purported to rest on English experience. It put an end to the literary theory of the constitution; it freed the world, in other words, from the doctrine propounded by Montesquieu and popularised with us by Blackstone, that English freedom and English prosperity depended on a subtle and, in truth, almost inconceivable balance and separation of powers, under which the executive authority of the Crown, the legislative authority of the Houses of Parliament, and the judicial authority of the Courts were played off against one another and somehow secured to each citizen his individual freedom. Bagehot made men use their eyes and look at things as they were. We learnt that the strength of the English constitution lay as much in the fusion as in the separation of powers; that the Cabinet—our true executive—necessarily consists of men taken from one or other of the Houses of Parliament; that it is in fact the link or hyphen joining together the executive and the Legislature; that the Courts constantly interfere with acts of executive authority; that the Chancellor, who is the highest judicial authority in the land, is also a member of the Government; and that, in short, the dogma of the separation of powers is, and always has been, in the sense most naturally put upon it, in contradiction with the most patent facts of English public life, and has even less of truth than the legal fiction which ascribes every act in which the authority of the State is concerned to the personal action of the King.

Our difficulty to-day is to understand two things which deserve attention. The one is the element of

truth which, though unfortunately expressed, is really contained in Montesquieu's teaching; the other is the tacit acceptance by Hallam, in spite of his learning, and by Macaulay, in spite of his practical experience of public life and his strong good sense, of constitutional theories which, as every one knew, did not correspond with actual facts. With the removal of this difficulty, which ought to be borne in mind, we need not here concern ourselves. The point to note is that Mr Lowell has completely accepted Bagehot's leading doctrine. He looks on the Cabinet with the eyes and the sympathies of his teacher. It is to him the true English executive. His error, if any, lies, it may be suspected, in underrating the possible and probably the actual influence of the Crown. His pages occasionally suggest that they were in print before he had the opportunity of fully studying the 'Letters of Queen Victoria.'

However this may be, our author, with Bagehot, fully grasps the strong points of Cabinet government. To him it is the best executive which has hitherto existed under any form of popular control. Its members are men of more than ordinary ability. Under a strong Premier it gives to the country, at any rate at an important crisis, some of the gain to be derived from the one-man power; yet it compels even the most powerful of Premiers to hear advice. The privacy of its debates, the absence of any written record of their result, the knowledge that a Ministry, however powerful, must be exposed to the criticism of formidable opponents, the flexibility of Cabinet government, the gain of its being constantly in touch with the Houses of Parliament, the right of a Ministry, when defeated in Parliament, to appeal by means of a dissolution to the nation, all, and more than all, the peculiarities and excellences of a parliamentary Ministry which are pointed out by Bagehot, are heartily accepted by Mr Lowell. Our American critic however, as he is among the most eminent of the school of Bagehot, is certainly also a pupil who, if he accepts, adds a great deal to the doctrine of his teacher. He has combined with the teaching of Bagehot principles which, taken together and emphasised, place the Government of England and, above all, the English party system in a new light.

Of these principles the most novel and the most important is that the English Cabinet, as it now stands, is at once the creation and the instrument of party government. This dogma of the identity of Cabinet government with party government is opposed to the prevalent habit of eulogising our parliamentary Ministry as one of the most ingenious of English political inventions, and denouncing our party system, as one of the vices which corrupts, or weakens, our constitution. In Mr Lowell's eyes the two things are all but inseparable parts of one and the same scheme of government. The Cabinet, he maintains, is the outcome of party conflicts; and in this assuredly he is right. Ever since the Revolution of 1688, that is, for more than two hundred years, there have existed in England two powerful and opposed parties which may conveniently be designated by the names of Whigs and Tories. The contests between these parties, and the desire of each to obtain political power, combined, it should always be remembered, with the natural tendency of the Houses of Parliament to increase their own authority by inroads upon the prerogatives of the Crown, have given to our constitutional history its whole colour.

Party battles have indeed led to the establishment of popular government; they have created in reality, if we may use a term which even now is neither familiar nor acceptable to English statesmanship, the sovereignty of the people. But then this acknowledged supremacy of the nation has been established in a very peculiar manner. The monarchy remains an essential part of the constitution. It were not much of a paradox to maintain that Edward VII possesses all the prerogatives exercised by William III or Queen Anne, or even by Charles II. The prerogatives remain; the constitution, nevertheless, has been popularised. This end has been achieved, not by curtailing the authority of the Crown, but by subjecting its exercise to the approval and the assent of the Crown's Ministers, and by instituting customs or conventions (which cannot long be neglected without involving the offender in a breach of the law of the land*) under which the Ministers of the Crown, that is the Cabinet,

* See Dicey, 'Law of the Constitution,' cap. xv.

must be constituted of persons, members of one or other House of Parliament, who can command the support of the party which has a majority in the House of Commons. As things now stand, the prerogatives of the Crown, to use Mr Lowell's words,

'exist for the sake of securing obedience to the deliberately expressed will of the House of Commons, and ultimately to the will of the nation. Their effect has been to bring the prerogatives of the Crown more and more completely under the control of the Cabinet, and the Cabinet itself under the control of the House of Commons; to restrain the opposition of the Lords to any policy on which the Commons, backed by the nation, are determined; and, finally, through the power of dissolution, to make the House of Commons itself reflect as nearly as may be the views of the electorate. In England there is, in fact, only one conclusive means of expressing the popular will—that of an election to the House of Commons; and in ordinary cases there is only one body that has power to interpret that expression, the Cabinet placed in office by the House so elected' (i, 13).

This indirect method of building up the fabric of parliamentary and popular sovereignty is not the obvious, or the natural, course of proceeding. In most countries revolutionists or reformers have tried either to abolish or to curtail royal prerogatives and, while separating the executive, the legislative, and the judicial powers from one another, to keep each, by constitutional enactments, strictly within its own sphere. Hardly anywhere, except in the United States, has this effort been crowned with success. The experiment has there succeeded partly because the citizens of the American Commonwealth are deeply imbued with respect for the rule of law, and partly because the situation of their country makes it possible to endure a want of harmony between the presidential executive and the elected legislative body which might bring to ruin countries such as France, or even England, exposed to the attacks or interference of powerful and hostile neighbours.

English statesmanship itself but slowly fell upon the true path of constitutional development. The Long Parliament, anticipating the action of the French Convention, not only destroyed the monarchy, but also lodged all power in the hands of committees elected by Parlia-

ment itself. When this form of government, or rather misgovernment, became so hateful to the country that, amidst the applause of the nation, it was destroyed by Cromwell, the reformers of the day attempted, under the Instrument of Government, to frame the earliest, and certainly one of the most ingenious, of written and rigid constitutions. By the providential irony of history, it was left to a generation freed from the noble enthusiasm, as also from the impracticable fanaticism of the Puritanic age to hit, almost by chance, upon the means of reconciling the traditions and the dignity of the ancient monarchy with the necessity of creating a government which should in the long run obey the deliberate will of the English people. Partisanship constantly threatening civil war was gradually reduced to the vehement but generally bloodless hostility of Whigs and Tories.

‘Little by little, with halting steps, the rivalry of parties built up the responsibility of Ministers, and this in turn helped to perpetuate the party divisions; for the parliamentary system, like every rational form of government, reacts upon and strengthens the conditions of its own existence. It is based upon party, and by the law of its nature tends to accentuate party.’ (Lowell, i, 443.)

To this scheme of parliamentary government is assuredly due the origin of the Cabinet. Mr Lowell, however, goes a step further and maintains with truth, as most of his readers will be convinced, that Cabinet government, as we know it, not only originated in, but is really an essential part of, English party government. It is at least extremely difficult to see how a system, the essence of which is that it tends constantly to place in office the leaders of the party, be it Whig or Tory, which on the whole commands a majority of the House of Commons, can exist and work with effect without the existence and rivalry of opposed parties. No doubt this strange form of popular government is not the result of deliberate design. It has been, like most English institutions, built up slowly and unconsciously. It attained its theoretical completion when, before the middle of the nineteenth century, men came to see clearly that an Opposition need be no more revolutionary than the Cabinet which it opposes and hopes to succeed.

'The expression, "His Majesty's Opposition," said to have been coined by John Cam Hobhouse before the Reform Bill, would not have been understood at an earlier period; and it embodies the greatest contribution of the nineteenth century to the art of government—that of a party out of power which is recognised as perfectly loyal to the institutions of the State, and ready at any moment to come into office without a shock to the political traditions of the nation. In countries where popular control of public affairs has endured long enough to be firmly established, an Opposition is not regarded as in its nature unpatriotic. On the contrary, the party in power has no desire to see the Opposition disappear. It wants to remain in power itself, and for that reason it wants to keep a majority of the people on its side; but it knows well that, if the Opposition were to become so enfeebled as to be no longer formidable, rifts would soon appear in its own ranks. In the newer democracies, such as France and Italy, there are large bodies of men whose aims are revolutionary, whose object is to change the existing form of government, although not necessarily by violent means. These men are termed "irreconcilables"; and, so long as they maintain that attitude, quiet political life, with a peaceful alternation of parties in power, is an impossibility.' (Lowell, i, 437-8.)

This contribution to the art of government has added the last touch to the easy working of our constitutional mechanism.

'In England' (writes Mr Lowell, i, 439, 442) 'the party system is no more in accord with the strictly legal institutions, with King, Lords, and Commons, than it is elsewhere; but it is in absolute harmony with those conventions which, although quite unknown to the law, make up the actual working constitution of the State. It is in harmony with them because they were created by the warfare of parties, were evolved out of party life. . . . Hence England is, in fact, the only large country in which the political institutions and the party system are thoroughly in harmony.'

The identification of the English party system with the existence and the character of a parliamentary Cabinet leads Mr Lowell to insist upon three conclusions. The first is that modern English constitutionalism can hardly work successfully unless the State contains two parties—say Whigs and Tories—and, if possible, not more than two parties, opposed to one another on some matter or matters of principle.

The second conclusion is that every party which exerts influence in Parliament must be loyal to the constitution. English parties exist with a view to undertaking the government of the country. No party can administer institutions which it desires, if possible, to destroy, and which, if the occasion arises, it would change by the use of force. Till the Jacobites ceased to plot for the restoration of the Stewarts, they could not rightly become members of even Tory Cabinets. Since 1875 more Ministries than most Englishmen could number have succeeded one another in France; but no Ministry has been admitted to office which did not belong to some section of the republican party. A republic must be ruled by republicans; monarchical reactionists, however high their personal character, cannot guide the destinies of a republic.

A third conclusion which was reached by Bagehot has been treated by Mr Lowell with a fullness and a freshness that make it almost his own discovery. This is the closeness of the connexion, constantly overlooked, between the administrative successes of English Cabinets and the characteristics of our permanent Civil Service. The high qualities of that Civil Service, which is now an object of national pride, have, like other creations of English statesmanship, been developed step by step. In the days of Pepys, whose Diaries have made him the best known to ordinary Englishmen of all the subordinate servants of the Crown, the permanent Civil Service was little else than a body of intelligent clerks belonging to the offices of different high-placed Ministers who were tending to become members of an as yet unrecognised Cabinet. Each of these subordinate servants was appointed by the head of his office. He was, as he still is, a mere servant of the Crown, and held his position at the pleasure of the Crown. To put the same thing in less technical language, he was appointed by, and dismissible at the will of, the Minister whom he served.

This was in fact, as, speaking broadly, it still is in theory,* the position of a civil servant till towards the end of the eighteenth century. It is probable however

* For the necessary limitations to this statement see Anson, vol. ii, The Crown, part i, p. 221. Cf. *Dunn v. The Queen* [1896], 1 Q.B. (C.A.) 116.

that, even before the Cabinet had become possessed of a recognised name and position, the needs of the public service, and still more the personal advantage to a Minister of obtaining the aid of efficient subordinates, may have given to a civil servant a moral and habitual claim to a permanence of tenure unknown to the law. But the bitter and unscrupulous conflicts of English parties during parts of the eighteenth century must have made it more than possible that the baneful maxim, 'to the victors belong the spoils,' might have been introduced into every sphere of public life long before it corrupted the politics of the United States. England, according to Mr Lowell (i, 149), but narrowly escaped this vilest result of partisanship.

'In this connection it is worthy of note that the revenue officers were disfranchised in 1782 at their own request. At that time the Government controlled through them seventy seats in the House of Commons; and Lord North sent them notice that it would go hard with them if they did not support his party. His opponents sent them a similar warning; and the result was that in self-protection they sent up a strong petition asking for exclusion from the franchise.'

Inconsiderately, it may be, a Bill to re-enfranchise them was carried in 1868 against the wishes of the Government of the day; but, long before this, the practical exclusion of every civil servant from an active share in party politics had been established by custom and enforced by official regulations. Every one now knows that civil servants cannot enjoy both permanence of tenure and active participation in party conflicts. To the infinite benefit of the State, the pleasures or the duties of partisanship have been forgone in order to secure a permanence of tenure which can be sacrificed only by misconduct or indiscretion. For the reforms which have made admission to the Civil Service, subject to certain salutary exceptions, depend not on patronage, but on success in examinations, a reader should study some of the most interesting chapters of Mr Lowell's treatise. The point to be impressed on our readers is that fluctuating Ministries, owing their existence and their power to the course of party conflicts, and a permanent unchanging Civil Service of trained officials, kept as far

as possible apart from political life, are each other's complement.

The Cabinet is the creation, the representative, and the instrument of a party; its members are party leaders. A Minister has spent his life in party conflicts. He probably has the gift of leadership; and that is of itself no small endowment. He is generally by training a debater, if not an orator; he has passed his life in discussion and debate. He lives, so to speak, in the atmosphere of contention and publicity. He is, in short, a parliamentarian. He is not, however, except as regards Parliament itself, an expert. He need not necessarily have any special experience in any one branch of administration. The permanent Civil Service, on the other hand, has, as such, no connexion at all with party conflicts. A civil servant has gained his position, not by the patronage of political leaders, but by his ability. He is prepared to serve, and generally does serve with perfect loyalty, any Minister who is placed at the head of the office to which he belongs. He obeys and advises at one time a Tory, at another a Whig. If, in the course of events, Parliament should place in power a Ministry of Socialists, our Civil Service would do their best to give effect to the theories of socialism. It is quite conceivable that a body of respectable gentlemen, who have been through life convinced Free-traders, may within two or three years be called upon to consider, for their official superiors, what are the best methods for carrying out that policy of Tariff Reform which honest opponents identify with Protection. Nor will any one deem that an official, educated in the school of Cobden, deviates a step from the path of duty or of honour in giving advice, aid, and comfort to Ministers who hold the doctrines of Cobden little better than economic fallacies.

No doubt, even among the best trained of civil servants, as indeed among Ministers, there is a good deal of human nature. An impartial historian may conjecture that the Whigs of 1830 owed some of their administrative failures to the necessity of relying upon permanent officials who, for the most part, may have been Tories, appointed by Tories, and, in their hearts, identified reform with revolution. Still we doubt not that every Ministry has, on the whole, received from his subor-

dinates, however much his politics may differ from theirs, loyal assistance.

The last of the great distinctions between a parliamentary Minister and a civil servant, however eminent, is that the life of the one is public and that of the other private. The one is, or should be, the man of the world who mixes much with mankind; the other is, or should be, the expert who, employed on work of great importance, of which the public knows little, is the thorough master of some branch of governmental business. That this combination of the gifts of a party leader with the utterly different talents of an expert may affect, for both bad and good, the whole character of the Government of England, is certain. What is equally certain is that the relation between the parliamentary Cabinet and the permanent Civil Service is an essential feature of our party system.

Mr Lowell's analysis of party government cannot be rightly appreciated unless it is read at full in his own pages; but even a summary thereof explains more than one curious phenomenon of English public life. When once, for instance, we perceive that the Cabinet is the very centre of our system of party government, we understand why it is that, as Mr Lowell insists, the power of the Ministry has, for the last fifty years and more, gone on increasing, and is not likely to suffer diminution. The Cabinet legislates; the legislative opportunities of private members have been reduced almost to nothing. The Cabinet regulates, controls, and curtails debate. The closure and the guillotine are denounced by each party, whether it calls itself Conservative or Liberal, when in opposition; but the closure and the guillotine are employed with ever-increasing vigour by each party when in office. Everybody denounces the vices of partisanship; yet we each and all unconsciously assent to the increasing rigidity of party discipline; and one among the many merits of Mr Lowell's 'Government of England' is that its pages contain proof, grounded on the intelligent use of statistics, that partisans are in 1909 trained to far more rigid obedience than they owed about the middle of the nineteenth century. Lord Palmerston was in 1857 the idol of the country. In 1858 he became over-buoyant. Because of a few indiscretions on the part of the Premier

the House of Commons brought Palmerston's Government to an end. No one supposes that the House of Commons of to-day would get rid of a Ministry mainly on the ground that it had offended the feelings of the House. Party discipline has increased and with it the authority of the Cabinet. With a majority in the House of Commons never exceeding the Opposition by more than forty members, the Home Rule Bill of 1893 was forced up to the House of Lords. Ten or twelve men might have brought a crushing defeat upon the Government; yet both parties stood to their guns. The battle was fought out, so far as the House of Commons was concerned, by men so carefully trained that none of them were guilty of desertion.

The identification, again, of the English Cabinet with English party government thoroughly explains the tangled and, at first sight, incomprehensible history of the caucus. This is a subject which has engaged all the attention of Dr Ostrogorski, no less than of Mr Lowell. The former's erudition, and his abstract manner of treating the concrete facts of political history, make it difficult to be certain what are the conclusions to which he means to guide his readers. He apparently sees in the machinery and the influence of the caucus a greater danger to the proper development of English institutions than is recognised by the practical good sense of an American citizen, accustomed to the rough and ready character of political life among every branch of the English people. The caucus, by whatever name it was termed, and by whatever party it was used, undoubtedly threatened to become a power resting on popular support, standing outside Parliament, and bringing pressure to bear upon the party leaders who either constituted the Cabinet or, though still in Opposition, hoped by a party victory to become the Cabinet. This was assuredly the aim of Mr Chamberlain when he formed a federation intended to be, as Mr Lowell says, 'a Liberal Parliament outside the imperial legislature.' This, or something very like it, must have been the idea of Lord Randolph Churchill when he revived, or gave a new character to, the National Union of Conservative Associations, and used it as a means of dictating a policy to the Conservative leaders. But, in the judgment of Mr Lowell, the caucus, as an organ for the

popular control of a party, for formulating opinion, for ascertaining and giving effect to the wishes of the rank and file, and in short for superseding the authority of the Cabinet, has turned out a mere pretence. The National Liberal Federation and the National Union of Conservative Associations have each been rendered, from a party point of view, harmless. Neither of them has domineered over the Cabinet; neither of them has been able to determine the party platform. The Cabinet has defeated, or rather has kept in due subordination, the party machine.

Mr Lowell's doctrine, again, meets the most popular of the objections to parliamentary government. By no one has it been put with greater force than by Macaulay. In his essay on William Pitt he argues that parliamentary government is government by speaking; but the power of oratory may be possessed in the highest degree by a politician who is without judgment, without fortitude, without skill in reading the characters of men, without any knowledge of the principles of legislation, without any skill in diplomacy or in the administration of war, without, in short, any one of the qualities required in a man fit to take part in the government of a great country. But he does not dispose satisfactorily of the difficulty he himself has raised by the conclusion that there would be small gain in exchanging the government of parliamentarians for that of the 'Prince of the Peace, or the poor slave and dog Steenie,' i.e. of the very most incompetent of Ministers known to the annals of modern Europe. The objection, moreover, to a parliamentary administration may be put in a more reasonable form than Macaulay's paradox. With the increasing complication of modern civilisation and the extension of human knowledge, the art of politics is becoming itself scientific; and the prosperity of the State depends, therefore, more and more on the administration of affairs by experts who understand the principles on which depends the transaction of each branch of public business. We cannot trust the country to partisans who hold office on the most uncertain of tenures, and who, even if they be men of ability, are hardly ever experts in the matters to be determined by a government department.

In whatever form the objection to parliamentary government be put, the answer thereto, suggested more than once by Mr Lowell, is easy to find. True it may be that English statesmen have risen to power by talent in debate. It is equally true that men have commanded the attention of the House of Commons who did not rank high as speakers, and that orators who have led the House have owed their authority to other gifts than eloquence.

Macaulay for once, in the search for a paradox, forgot the lessons, not only of history, but of his own experience. Castlereagh was, as a speaker, contemptible and ridiculous, but he was no mean leader. Althorp spoke no better than many an ordinary Justice of the Peace, yet Althorp's character gained him more trust than was accorded to the eloquence and the versatile cleverness of Sheridan, or to the oratory, the wit, and the genius of Canning. But the even more important consideration is that, 'in England, the technical knowledge, the traditions, and the orderly conduct of affairs are secured by a corps of highly efficient permanent officials' (i, 62). To a Minister's knowledge of the world the permanent Civil Service may always be made to supply as much of special knowledge as the State may require from experts. The faults of the English government, as it has been well remarked, will be found to arise far less from the special defects of English administrators than from the faults common to Englishmen. In a freely governed country no one class can rise far above the ideals which are there prevalent. If the mass of Englishmen have little faith in scientific knowledge or zeal for education, English public officers will display the faults common to the nation. 'Our public officers,' wrote Bagehot (p. 211), 'cannot be as good as the officers of some foreign nations until our business education is as good as theirs.'

Among the many truths suggested by Mr Lowell with regard to our Civil Service must be numbered the important observation that the habits and the traditions of the Civil Service have happily counteracted the evils which the party system tends to produce in the administration of our local government. The management of English local affairs is, in his judgment, not absolutely, but in the main, free from corruption. Partisanship tells

for a good deal in the election or appointment of local officials. The mayor and the town-councillors of an English borough will in general be Tories where Toryism prevails, and Liberals where Liberalism prevails. A Tory council will appoint a Tory town-clerk; a Liberal council will prefer the services of a Radical clerk. But here the tradition of the permanent Civil Service comes in. Custom gives to a town-clerk a more or less permanent tenure of office. Though appointed, e.g., by Tories, he does not fear to lose his post if municipal authority passes into the hands of Radicals. He has become the servant of a town, not of a party. In discharging the duties of his office he, like the members of the permanent Civil Service, as a rule, acts independently of any party bias.

The observer who analyses and explains the government of a country which is not his own is not called upon to act either as a eulogist or as a censor. Mr Lowell never forgets the intellectual impartiality becoming to a thinker, whose studies are directed solely to the ascertainment of the truth. He does not hesitate to point out defects in the frame of government of which the Cabinet is the heart. Still, such general conclusions with regard to the government of England as he thinks well to express must give much satisfaction to any fair-minded and educated Englishman.

'If the parliamentary system has made the Cabinet of the day autocratic, it is an autocracy exerted with the utmost publicity, under a constant fire of criticism, and tempered by the force of public opinion, the risk of a vote of want of confidence, and the prospects of the next election' (i, 355). 'Government by party is not an ideal regimen. Like everything else, it contains both good and evil. A political organisation, indeed, that avoided all strife and all waste would certainly be impossible, and would probably, by relaxing effort and sapping the springs of human nature, prove undesirable. As yet it is too early to strike a final balance between the merits and the defects of the party system in England, and it would be hopeless to attempt it here. Both good and evil will appear more fully as we proceed' (i, 447).

This language is judicial in the best sense of that word; it might, from one point of view indeed, be con-

sidered equivalent to the statement that 'constitutional government in England is on its trial,' which, when made publicly more than fifty years ago, excited considerable sensation. But this dictum suggested something of condemnation. Mr Lowell's words, on the other hand, sound like the charge of a judge who, as regards any serious accusation which may be thought to lie against parliamentary government as practised in England, wishes to enforce the fairness of an almost complete acquittal.

Can an Englishman give full assent to so favourable a verdict? Such complete acquiescence is surely an impossibility. Our critic delivers judgment with full knowledge of the facts, but then he is under a bias of a complicated nature. He writes with that friendliness to the old country which the policy of England during well-nigh forty years and the course of recent events have fostered. It is a friendliness to which Mr Bryce's 'embassy to the people of America,' as it has been styled, has set the last touch, and given, as is hoped by the whole English people in every part of the world, a character of permanence. A citizen of the United States knows further that, by some happy chance, constitutional government in England has escaped defects or weaknesses which detract from the success of republican government in America; and Mr Lowell attributes this good fortune mainly to a harmony between the party system and the political institutions of England which does not exist in the American Commonwealth. This harmony is, he conceives, the fruit of a parliamentary Cabinet. To the existence of the Cabinet he apparently ascribes the absence of the boss, the machine, the party platform, and the caucus. How can he fail to overestimate a party system which seems to check the development of just those characteristics which he probably regards with least favour in the institutions of his own country? Add to all this that the author of the 'Government of England' is, at bottom, like all the most vigorous Americans, an optimist, while English writers on popular government exhibit a touch, not exactly of pessimism, but of hopelessness. In these circumstances it is a pleasure to every Englishman that so well-informed and thoughtful a writer as Mr Lowell should look with favour on our scheme of government.

But his complete comprehension of our institutions has made him too lenient to our defects. 'Tout comprendre c'est tout pardonner.' He has hardly judged with sufficient severity defects which arrest the attention of every Englishman. They may be brought under two heads.

First.—The party system, has, even at its best, worked far less satisfactorily than our American friend supposes. Take the period of thirty-six years extending from 1830 to 1866, which may be called, without much inaccuracy, the era of the Reformed Parliament. No one can doubt that during that time the conditions favourable to the proper working of English constitutionalism were in force. Whigs and Tories formed two distinct and powerful parties; to create a third party was deemed all but impossible. They were divided from one another on matters of principle; they were both loyal to the constitution. The statesmen who came to the head of affairs were men of ability and character. Grey, Melbourne, Peel, Lord John Russell, Lord Derby, Palmerston, Gladstone, Disraeli, to say nothing of distinguished colleagues, were all men far above the average talent and capacity. Disraeli's career, which we cannot yet fairly judge, may be called eccentric, and, like that of every leading statesman, is liable to criticism; but no man can doubt that every one of the leaders we have mentioned had at heart the welfare and greatness of England. No one of them even dreamed of disloyalty to the constitution.

During the era, then, of the Reformed Parliament party government was seen at its best. Is it possible to deny that even then this form of constitutionalism showed marked defects? Nothing great could be achieved without factitious agitation which, on the one hand, in so far as it was unreal, fostered cant, and, in so far as it was genuine, kept alive a belief that salutary changes or reforms might be gained by violence, or at least by the threat of violence. A practically more serious result of party working against party was that innovations or reforms were constantly deprived of their beneficial effect by being thwarted, delayed, or only half carried out.

We are constantly told that Peel the partisan must be distinguished from Peel the patriot. To calm critics it may appear that the statesman was such a past master

in the arts of party warfare that he never could lay them aside. Disraeli, who was the bitterest and unfairest of Peel's assailants, was also the acutest of his critics and the most convincing of his eulogists; and Disraeli has placed on record that Peel was the greatest member of Parliament that the world has known. So be it. The results of parliamentary genius are strange. Peel for many years delayed concessions to Roman Catholics which Tories as strong as Sir Walter Scott would have tolerated or accepted in 1825 or possibly 1819. The Catholic Relief Bill was passed in such a way as to cause additional and unnecessary irritation to O'Connell. The pettiness of denying to him the rank of King's Counsel, when it was given to his follower Sheil, is now all but incredible. The cowardice of the Whigs, caused no doubt by the certainty of attack at the hands of the Tory Opposition, forbade the attempt to prevent agitation by giving office or judicial promotion to O'Connell. Every conflict concerning the revenues of the Church of Ireland, every delay in settling, as it might easily have been settled, the payment of tithes in Ireland so as to put an end to the tithe war, must be attributed to Peel and his followers. Only slowly and by degrees were Irish Roman Catholics allowed to enjoy the full fruits of emancipation.

Nor can Peel or his Government be acquitted of responsibility for gratuitous delays in reform caused by the desire of Lyndhurst to exhibit the legislative incapacity, or the powerlessness, of the Whigs. For years party conflict delayed the creation of county courts, and thereby prevented creditors of small means from obtaining payment of debts. The same supreme skill in parliamentary warfare in 1841 placed Conservatives in office by making Protection part of the Tory creed, and in 1846 repealed the corn laws in a manner which destroyed trust in the principles of statesmen. The inherent evils, however, of party government, even when at its best, cannot be laid to the charge of any one party or of any one statesman. The story of Whigs and Tories throwing out a Coercion Bill of which they all approved, and which the Whig Government, a year later, itself passed into law, is even now painful to read. The desire for vengeance which made Tories indifferent to the suppression of agrarian outrages in Ireland, so only they might punish

the alleged treachery of their once adored leader, is intelligible, and is more respectable than the conduct of Whigs who condoned murder and outrage rather than postpone the opportunity of forcing their way into office. The disastrous precedent has been followed in later days. Party government, even under the most favourable circumstances, is still, veil the fact as you will, the government of partisans.

Secondly.—The conditions essential to the good working of constitutional government in England are one by one passing away. The old two-party system, under which Tories or Conservatives were ranged against Whigs or Liberals, has ceased for the moment to exist. We have at least four acknowledged parties—the Unionists, the Liberals, the Labour party, and the Irish Nationalists. Each of these four is broken into subdivisions. Unionists who are Free-traders are at loggerheads with Unionists who are Tariff-reformers. Of the Labour party, some are socialists; some, we presume, are Radicals, who adhere to Mr John Burns. Our old parties are split into groups. Whether the group system be compatible with our old plan of party government, or not, is a problem still awaiting solution.

A more serious matter is that the tacit loyalty to the constitution, which has enabled each party in turn to take part in the administration of public affairs, threatens to pass away. It assuredly does not exist among the Irish Nationalists. They have never repudiated and—in this one may respect their honesty—do not wish to repudiate the teaching of Parnell. They hold to the doctrine that deliberately organised obstruction, intimidation, boycotting, and, to speak plainly, the use of physical force, may rightly supplement so-called constitutional agitation. They are still the rebel party; they still number among their leaders men who appeared before the Parnell Commission, and were by that Commission found guilty of inciting to intimidation, with the consequence that ‘crime and outrage were committed by the persons incited.’ The sentiment, if not the doctrine, preached by Parnell shows signs of spreading beyond the ranks of Irish Nationalism. The fighting suffragists, for example, act on the belief that to break the law of the land is a legitimate method of agitation, if such law-

lessness may bother the House of Commons into conceding votes to women. Even the Executive, whose main duty one would suppose to be the maintenance of the law, acts, at any rate so far as it is represented by Mr Birrell, on the idea that in Ireland the law ought not to be enforced when it conflicts with the wishes of agitators who command a large amount of popular sympathy, and, it may be added, a considerable number of votes in the House of Commons. Recent events are full of warning. At home we find that questions, such as the defence of the country against foreign aggression, which touch the very life of the nation, can at the present day only with difficulty, if at all, be excluded from the sphere of partisanship. From the experience of France we learn that the civil servants of a parliamentary Republic, when banded together as trade unionists, may, in pursuit of their own private interests, defy the authority and endanger the welfare of the State to which they owe loyal obedience.

The influence, again, of large party associations is greater than Mr Lowell is willing to concede. True it is that the caucus, of which he has traced the rise and fall, was in the long run defeated by the Cabinet. It is hardly possible to introduce into modern England 'the machine' which exerts so baneful an influence in the United States. True it is, also, that Ministers, who are themselves the ablest and most expert of party leaders, still retain the right of determining the policy of the party, whether it be called Whig or Tory, Liberal or Conservative, which they guide. But it can hardly be doubted that the caucus does, in one way or another, exert considerable influence upon party leaders whether in or out of the Cabinet.

These facts are important; but it is an equally important matter, to which Mr Lowell hardly attaches sufficient weight, that the leaders who get hold of the party machinery gain an immense advantage, and that the improvement and extension of party mechanism diminishes the personal independence of even eminent members of Parliament. No man can underrate the immense personal influence of Gladstone; but no one can doubt that control of the party machinery aided him greatly in inducing the majority of the Liberal party to accept Home Rule as an article of modern Liberalism. Can any impartial observer doubt that the control and the skilful management of

party machinery is at this moment doing a great deal towards promoting the success of Tariff Reform, and, to the injury of the country, towards excluding the most distinguished of Unionist Free-traders from English public life? The caucus has not triumphed; but the caucus, or something very like it, is telling for much upon the course of English politics.

The last, however, and, in the judgment of persons outside politics, the worst, yet the most inevitable result of party government, as it at present exists, lies in its growing tendency to make statesmen, even when in office, act and feel as though they were the leaders of a party rather than the servants of the nation. They 'play the game,' as the slang of the day puts it, fairly enough; but they come to look upon politics as a game and not as the discharge of a high duty. Take one or two examples of this tendency. Of corruption, in the ordinary sense of the word, there is as little to be detected in the public life of England as in the politics of any country where popular government prevails. The electoral bribery which fifty years ago was notorious, has to a great extent been put down by the force partly of law and still more of public opinion. But the corruption of classes may soon come to threaten the country with ruin. A dictum attributed to, and certainly characteristic of, the late Lord Bramwell, deserves attention: 'A candidate used to gain a seat by paying 5*l.* to each elector; the practice was said to be illegal, it was certainly expensive. A candidate now gains a seat by promising electors part of their neighbours' property; the practice is said to be legal, it is certainly inexpensive.'

The student of parliamentary debates will find that, some forty years ago, Gladstone pointed out the danger of corrupting classes. He will also find that in 1874 the offer to repeal the income-tax, made by Mr Gladstone on the eve of a general election, looked, to some of his opponents at least, very like a bribe offered to the electorate. This was, however, a modest and reasonable proposal in comparison with the hasty provision of old-age pensions for the poor, made by a Government which had taken little pains to ascertain the cost of this immense donative, and which refused to defer for a few months a measure affecting the whole character of the English

Poor-Law, in order to give Englishmen the opportunity of reading the Report of a Commission instituted to investigate that very subject. Add to this, that the Opposition made little effort to curb the rashness of the Ministry. Ministers and their critics shared, we doubt not, that pity for the miseries of the poor and that contempt for economic science which is so characteristic of modern England; but the Ministry and the Opposition alike did not forget that many of the poor have votes.

Mr Lowell's enthusiasm for the party system leads him into the statement that English 'parties are really in the position of barristers arguing a case before a jury, that jury being the national electorate.' He adds, indeed, that 'the jurymen in this case are not impartial, and the arguments are largely addressed to their interests; but that is a difficulty inseparable from democracy, or, indeed, from any form of government.' Surely never did a very acute and impartial writer make a more unfortunate comparison. A barrister is strictly prohibited by professional and public opinion from expressing his own opinion of his client's case. A member of Parliament avowedly shares the opinion in favour of which he argues. An advocate is, in England at least, prohibited from making his payment depend upon the winning of his cause. A member of Parliament who seeks the support of the electors or of the House of Commons knows that his retention of his seat, or his attainment of office, may depend upon the success of his arguments or his fallacies. The whole aim of the law and the main duty of a judge who presides at a trial is to ensure that a clear and definite issue should be brought before the jurymen for their decision. The aim of politicians, whether in or out of office, is, in general, to confuse and perplex the issues before the electorate.

It is here we come to one of the worst defects of our party system. The electors are the political sovereign of the country; their vote is in the last instance decisive on all matters of law or policy; yet, with a strange perversity, we insist, as things now stand, that the electors shall never have presented to them a single, a clear, or a distinct issue. Look at what is certain to happen at the next election. The Government will dissolve at the moment when they deem that dissolution is most likely

to give the Ministerialists a majority. Their aim must be to mix several issues together. The electors will have to vote on the purely personal question whether they prefer Mr Asquith or Mr Balfour as Premier. They will have to decide whether they wish for or detest the policy of Home Rule. They will have at the same time to determine whether they prefer Free-trade or Protection. All these matters will be mixed and muddled up together. To add to the confusion, it will be necessary to determine the question whether votes are to be refused or granted to women; possibly also whether the country is to enjoy adequate naval protection or not. The oddity of the thing is that at the next General Election the electorate may be placed on the horns of a serious, though absurd, dilemma. It is in the highest degree probable that a majority of the electors are staunch Unionists. It is, to say the least, quite possible that a majority of the electors remain Free-traders. Yet it is more than likely that, under our electoral system, voter after voter will be forced to choose either the maintenance of the Union combined with the surrender of Free Trade, or the maintenance of Free Trade combined with the surrender of the Union. Nor is it at all impossible that the leaders of each party may have committed themselves to the revolution involved in the concession of woman suffrage, while the mass of the electors have no wish to try an electoral experiment of which no one can prophesy the issue.

This state of things is the outcome of a party system which leads men of character to think of politics as a game. It is a system which, as Mr Lowell shows, has its merits; but political art, however great, will never be able to transform party conflicts, however subtly conducted, into a device for making partisanship perform the functions of patriotism.

A. V. DICEY.

Art. 14.—THE MEMOIRS OF MADAME DE BOIGNE.

Récits d'une Tante. Mémoires de la Comtesse de Boigne, née d'Osmond, publiés d'après le manuscrit original.

By M. Charles Nicoullaud. Four vols. Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1907-1908.

'If my nephews' (says Mme de Boigne in her preface) 'chance to read what I am writing, they must expect to find, not a book, but the gossip of an old woman, such desultory talk as might pass in a salon. I attach no more importance to it than to a piece of embroidery. I have taken up my pen when tired of my needle, and my needle when tired of my pen; and my manuscript will be left to my heirs instead of one more armchair. Since I have referred to no documents, I have probably made many mistakes as to dates and places, perhaps even as to facts; but I can truly affirm that I have written nothing that I did not honestly believe. Perfect impartiality may be impossible, but it is possible to be perfectly sincere.'

Mme de Boigne was not quite so free from literary pretension as she would have us believe. She was the author of several novels, two of which she entrusted to Mme Lenormand, the biographer and niece of Mme Récamier, for publication after her death. Such attention as these stories attracted at the time was due to the name of the author rather than to their merit. They are wanting in originality, ill-constructed and conventional in sentiment. The incidents have often no connexion with the development of either character or plot; and we miss the lightness of touch, the quick, lively and accurate observations of men and manners which delight us in the 'Tales of an Aunt.' No critic can deny that these have secured for their author a distinguished place among the immortal band of French memoir-writers; but that they possess the one merit which she claims for them, veracity, appears to be less certain. She is prodigal of assurances of her good faith. She will only, she says, tell us what she has herself witnessed or has heard on unimpeachable authority. She had often sat up till after midnight listening to Count Bubna's stories about Napoleon, but could not remember

them with sufficient accuracy to repeat them in her reminiscences.

'My method has been,' she says, 'to tell what I have seen and what I believe, without attempting to make the facts agree with each other. . . . Truth is full of inconsistencies which can only be removed by invention.' Does she protest too much? Is one of her severest critics justified in saying that, heedless of truth, 'she went her way collecting good sayings and ugly stories'?* We think he is not. Yet it must be confessed that it is difficult to be quite impartial in judging an author who has given us so much pleasure, who is never dull or languid, whose inaccuracies are often due to the very qualities which make her so fascinating a companion, to the instinct which impels a born teller of stories to give to his tales the finish of a work of art. Many of her anecdotes, especially those in the earlier chapters, written long after the events described, have evidently been rounded off and polished in the process of frequent repetition, until, like stones rolled over and over by the waves, they have lost much of their original shape; so that, although what she tells us may in substance be the truth, it is the truth dramatised and with a point given to it which was wanting to the reality.

It is often interesting to compare in this respect Mme de Boigne's account of events with that given by the constant companion of her later years, the Chancellor Pasquier.

'She to the great "might-have-been" upsoaring, sublime and ideal,

He to the merest "it-was" restricting, diminishing, dwarfing.'

What, for instance, could be more dramatic than her account of the debate in Talleyrand's house after the arrival of the Tsar in 1814? According to her, Alexander began by saying:

"Well, here we are in this famous Paris; and it is you, M. de Talleyrand, who have brought us here. We have now three alternatives before us: to treat with the Emperor Napoleon, to establish a regency, or to recall the Bourbons." Talleyrand replied: "The Emperor is mistaken. We have not the choice

* M. Costa de Beauregard, 'Revue des Deux Mondes,' June 15, 1908.

of three alternatives. There is only one course open to us and that is the one he mentioned last. Powerful though he be, he is not sufficiently so to be able to choose. For, if he were to hesitate, France, who expects this compensation for her sufferings and humiliations, would rise as one man against the invaders, and your Majesty knows that the finest armies melt away before a nation's wrath' (i, 332, 3).

Upon this the Tsar acquiesced. This is not how things really happened. In Pasquier's *Memoirs* (ii, 256) we learn how much more protracted, how comparatively tame, were the deliberations of the conquerors. Yet the essential truth, all that it really concerns us to know, is vividly told—that the Tsar hesitated, and that Talleyrand persuaded him that the restoration of the Bourbons was the only possible policy, because it was ardently desired by the French nation. Much of the most admired history has been written after the same fashion.

Mme de Boigne was indeed ready to make allowances, for, in her opinion, we are what circumstances make us; yet, perhaps for this very reason, she does not think it necessary to minimise the shortcomings of her friends. Why should she extenuate faults for which not they but the conditions under which they lived and acted were responsible? Besides, it was not her nature to be easily dazzled. She could see spots in the sun. 'I have found,' she says, 'that there is always some good to be said of the worst, and some evil of the best men.'

Her strongest feelings were negative. She disliked despotism, and dreaded democracy. She was irritated by intolerance, superstition, and folly. She chronicles, therefore, with a malicious zest, the absurdities and errors of despots and demagogues, and perhaps also of those whom her editor calls 'pious souls.' It is not surprising that critics should have complained that she is prone to dwell rather on what is amiss than on what is right in the world, to tell stories to the discredit rather than to the credit of the people she introduces to her readers. But might not the same be said of many of the writers whom we should most regret to lose? It is not to study the acts of the saints that we turn to the Cardinal de Retz, or Hamilton, or the Electress Palatine, or Saint-Simon, or Horace Walpole. Our neighbours' foibles and failings are more exhilarating matter of discourse than their

humdrum common-sense and their everyday virtues. Instances of transcendent wisdom and heroic merit are, it is true, as interesting and more edifying, but they are rare. When she happens to meet them, Mme de Boigne pays them due homage. She had no liking for the Duke of Broglie; but she does not omit to tell, with a thrill of emotion, how, during the first awful epidemic of cholera, he and his duchess left Paris to set an example of devotion to their terrified servants and tenants by nursing and even performing the last services to the stricken. But, if she had confined herself to recording such deeds, a very thin volume might have contained all that she would have had to tell posterity. Perhaps she would appear more amiable if she were a little less reasonable. We should like her better if she were sometimes enthusiastic, even though for the wrong cause. It is characteristic of her that, unlike the great majority of her contemporaries, she never caught the Rousseau fever. This was the result partly of an unemotional temperament, partly of the circumstances of her early life.

Adelaide d'Osmond was born at Versailles in 1781; she was, as she says, brought up on the knees of the royal family. Her mother, a cousin of Arthur Dillon, the Archbishop of Narbonne, was lady-in-waiting to Mme Adelaide, the King's aunt. She seems to have been a beautiful and amiable nonentity, and to have had little influence on her daughter, who regarded her with tolerant affection. The Marquis of Osmond, her father, the head of a very ancient but impoverished Norman family, was a man of sense and character, enlightened after the fashion of a cultivated gentleman of the eighteenth century. During their exile he superintended his daughter's education, reading Adam Smith and philosophy with her, such philosophy of common-sense as may be found in Voltaire. M. d'Osmond, like his daughter, had no sympathy with the sentimentalities, political, social, or religious, of the followers of Rousseau. He desired reforms, but under a strong and orderly monarchy. He refused to be present at the opening of the States-General. Funeral ceremonies were not, he said, to his taste. Like Mirabeau and Malouet and other clear-sighted men, he saw that Louis XVI, by meeting the representatives of his people without any settled plan or measures to place

before them, had dealt a death-blow to the old monarchy. Yet he strongly disapproved of the disloyal and foolish policy of the princes and of the *émigrés* who collected round them. He remained with the King until the spring of 1792, and gave him good advice, urging him to abandon intrigues and to do his best to govern honestly in accordance with the constitution he had accepted.

Mme d'Osmond and her daughter had gone to Italy at the same time as the King's aunts; and there the Marquis joined them. At Naples the Queen bestowed the questionable favour of her intimacy on Mme d'Osmond; and Adèle figured in *tableaux vivants* with Lady Hamilton, who, she says, was first received at Court by her mother's intercession—a statement probably as little to be relied upon as her account of the first discovery of Emma Lyon by Greville when darning her stockings in his kitchen. She also became the playmate of the Princess Amélie; and this was the beginning of a life-long friendship with the future Queen of the French. After staying nearly a year at Naples, the family accompanied a generous relation, Sir John Legard, to his home in Yorkshire, and somewhat later settled in a small house at Brompton, of which M. d'Osmond had taken the lease. In the eyes of his fellow-exiles, this was another proof of his unsound principles, since no right-thinking man would, by hiring quarters for any term longer than a week, betray a doubt that repentant France was on the eve of recalling her rightful King and his faithful nobles.

Mme de Boigne has much to tell of the folly of the noblest *émigrés*, and of their shameless immorality, now too often stripped of the veneer of good manners. In France, however great the familiarity between them, no gentleman would in company have put his arm on the back of a lady's chair. But now, in exile, it was not thought very singular that the Count Louis of Bouillon should reel drunk into a drawing-room and, throwing himself on a sofa by the Duchess of Châtillon, pull the Duchess of Montmorency down to the other side of him and, laying a hand on each lady, reply to a suggestion that he had better go home, 'Go! Why go, when I am on my own preserves?'

Adèle d'Osmond was meantime growing up into a beautiful and accomplished girl. She was a good

musician, and was admired for the grace of her dancing. She had abundance of fair hair, bright dark eyes, a brilliant complexion, and a well-shaped figure. She says that she first learnt that she was pretty from the remarks of people in the streets. A carter pulling his horses aside for her to pass said, 'You are too handsome to be kept waiting.' 'God bless your pretty face!' exclaimed a porter as he went by; 'it's as good as a rest to see it.' Probably her glass had already told her as much; and it is difficult to believe her statement that she suffered from excessive shyness, after reading of the business-like way in which she sold these charms in the matrimonial market, concluding by herself a bargain from which her parents shrank, although made in order to relieve them at a time when all other resources were failing.

A wealthy nabob calling himself General de Boigne had been received into London society. Benoît Leborgne—for that was his real name—the son of a furrier at Chambéry, had been bred a lawyer, but was irresistibly drawn to a military career. A man who was not by birth a gentleman had no prospect of advancement in the Sardinian army. Leborgne therefore began his career as a soldier of fortune in one of the Irish regiments in the French service. Eventually he found his way to India and obtained an introduction to Warren Hastings, who employed him as his agent at some of the native courts. He next organised and led to victory the army of Sindia, and retired from the service of the Mahratta prince with a large fortune and a good reputation. It was therefore with no ignoble adventurer that Mlle d'Osmond trafficked for her hand. The suitor was nearly three times her age; years and the Indian sun had dimmed his good looks; and he had not been able to acquire the graces of Versailles in the barrack-room and at the Mahratta Court. The 'battles, sieges, fortunes he had passed,' the 'moving accidents by flood and field,' might have stirred the fancy of a romantic girl; but Mlle d'Osmond, who never was romantic, does not appear to have been much inclined to hear these things. She only showed a business-like determination to make the best of a distasteful sacrifice by securing a liberal allowance for her parents and a sufficient settlement on herself.

It is not surprising that the marriage should have

been a failure. M. de Boigne, if we may believe his wife, was possessed by a more than oriental jealousy; he was jealous of all creation, even of her father and of her lap-dog. His nerves were irritated by the abuse of opium. She was wearied by scenes of violent and undeserved reproaches, and by fits of scarcely less unpleasing fondness. He was by turns profuse and niggardly, and both in the wrong way. He had the most unamiable character with which mortal was ever cursed. He was as anxious to make himself unpleasant as others are to be pleasant. He insulted his servants and offended his guests. He never made a friend. 'He deceived me,' she complains, 'about everything, about his name, his family, his past life.' But, if he did not think it necessary to mention a Eurasian son, his money at least was a solid fact, and greatly contributed to Mme de Boigne's comfort, when, after repeated temporary separations, she and her husband agreed in 1812 to live apart. He took up his abode at a country-house near Chambéry, where he is still honoured as the founder of almshouses, hospitals, and schools; she resided in Paris or the neighbourhood, which she only left to assist her mother in entertaining when her father was French Minister at the Sardinian Court in 1814, and when afterwards in 1816 and 1818 he was ambassador in London. There was no violent rupture. Every year Mme de Boigne visited her husband in Savoy, and was received with the greatest deference. She always, Mme Lenormand assures us, spoke of the General with respect and gratitude. It is a pity that she did not practise the same reticence when writing. The plain-speaking, to use no harsher term, in which she indulges some years after her husband's death, shows some want of taste as well as of feeling.

Mme de Boigne left London in the autumn of 1804 to join her husband in Paris, after a separation of two years. She found society under the new monarchy slowly settling down into an order which had some superficial resemblance to that which existed before the Revolution. It is indeed remarkable how soon and how readily aristocrats and revolutionaries, former Terrorists and those who by good fortune had escaped their clutches, the generals and officials of the new Government and men whose names were illustrious for the services of

their ancestors to the old monarchy, met and associated under the same roof. No doubt this was partly due to French sociability, partly to a cynical indifference caused by sudden and stunning vicissitudes; but it would have been impossible, save for the similarity, in manners and culture, of all ranks in the educated classes, a similarity which, as Tocqueville has pointed out, was more marked in France than elsewhere. The distinction between *roturier* and noble, still more that between a person of quality and one who was 'not born,' had been bitterly resented just because it corresponded to no real difference between men who had been brought up in the same schools and shared the same tastes and ideals.

Society under the later Bourbon monarchy had been distinguished by nothing more than by the unchecked and fearless freedom with which all subjects were canvassed, and by the eager optimism which was constantly discovering truths certain to secure the future happiness of mankind. At the beginning of the nineteenth century this belief in the near advent of the millennium had been rudely shaken; and, as Guizot remarks, only those who had experienced it could realise the sense of oppression, the dread of any free exchange of ideas, which prevailed under the Empire. A year before the return of Mme de Boigne to Paris, the exile of Mme de Staël had shown that neither sex nor genius nor fame conferred the privilege of attacking or even of criticising Bonaparte and his Government with impunity; and there were other matters beside politics which could not be discussed with the same happy indifference as before 1789. Since religion was now a department of State, an argumentative atheist was hardly regarded with more favour than an avowed republican. Moreover, it was felt that the entertainment of dissolving the bases of faith and morality by a destructive analysis had led to no satisfactory result.

Yet there were still houses where it was not considered pedantry to discuss serious topics, nor frivolous to laugh at the follies of the day, and where the pleasures of rational and witty conversation could be enjoyed as in no other place. Had it been otherwise, banishment from Paris would not have been so bitter, nor Mme de Staël at Coppet as inconsolable as Ovid on the shores of the Black Sea, even though she had the company of her Benjamin

while he was bereft of his Corinna. It is possible that, taking themselves less seriously, the salons of the new France may have been more lively than some of those of the old. Is it unpardonable heresy to guess that we should have been intolerably bored at one of those dinners where the guests of Mme Necker discussed 'the great truths of nature, the immortality of the soul, the love of liberty, the charm and danger of the passions'? Horace Walpole found the philosophers with their incessant preaching unendurable; the style of conversation 'solemn, pedantic, and seldom animated; the generality of the men dull and empty.' Their gaiety, he complains, is not greater than their delicacy; 'they may be growing wise, but the intermediate stage is dulness.' It may, perhaps, be objected that Walpole is not an unimpeachable witness. He was always careful to insist that he was a gentleman and not a literary person. He professed, and doubtless felt, contempt for a mere man of letters; and it stirred his bile to see such people made much of by duchesses and treated as the equals of the son of Sir Robert Walpole. Moreover, the great questions of politics and ethics, which were discussed, superficially perhaps, yet with glowing enthusiasm, under Louis XVI, were, as Macaulay says, dull and trivial themes to him when compared with such important matters as George Selwyn's good sayings or Miss Chudleigh's absurdities.

One salon, the character and tone of which had been little changed, was still open in 1804. Every evening for forty years, even during the Reign of Terror, some of the friends of the Princess of Poix met at her house. Mme de Boigne may be censorious, but she can also praise warmly. 'The dignity and strength of character of this most lovable old lady,' she says, 'were as remarkable as the sweetness of her disposition and the charm of her society. Her virtues and her exemplary youth gave her the right to judge others charitably.' The two best-known members of the princess' coterie are less gently handled. The Abbé de Montesquiou 'may have had parts, but he only used them to commit follies as a public man and to make himself unendurable in private'; and the eloquent orator of the Constituent Assembly, the fat and sentimental Lally Tollendal, is ridiculed as full of

absurdities, moved to tears by the pathos of youth and of age, by glory and defeat, by joy and grief, heaving his vast bulk with emotion as he listened to the prattle of the children playing in the Palais Royal. Gushing sensibility, an impetuous and good-natured enthusiasm, were indeed the characteristics of this society, as to some extent they had been of that of Mme de Staël. Every happy remark was warmly applauded. Every moving tale received the tribute of floods of tears.

After the exile of Mme de Staël, the house of Mme Récamier was that to which all foreign visitors and all aspirants to social distinction were most eager to obtain admission; for the tact and charm of the hostess caused such a tone of moderation and general toleration to prevail that men of every party and opinion met there without mutual offence. But, although she was frequently at her house, it was not until after the failure of M. Récamier's bank in 1806 that Mme de Boigne became the intimate friend of his wife, attracted to her, she says, by the simple dignity with which she bore this reverse of fortune. It is pleasing to notice her enthusiastic appreciation of a rival beauty and hostess. Mme Récamier was, she says (i, 238), what God meant woman to be when He created her for man's happiness.

Sainte-Beuve complains that there was in the salon of Mme Récamier too much charity, too fixed a determination to see only the fair side of everything, too much complaisance even at the expense of sincerity, an enervating atmosphere dangerous to originality and independence. The same criticism would not apply to the salon of Mme de Boigne. She thought as she pleased, and she said what she thought. She boasted that under the Empire discussion was nowhere more free than at her house. Yet, unlike Mme Récamier, she escaped exile. This was, she says, because she neither courted it nor feared it. But in truth she was prudent as well as independent; her salon was never a centre of opposition; nor was she what the Emperor detested, a political woman. She took an intelligent interest in public events, but it was a personal interest; she neither understood nor cared for principles, and she shared Napoleon's dislike of *idéologues* and *doctrinaires*.

Even during the Revolution of 1830, when the prin-

cial actors were her friends, when her salon was often the scene of their deliberations, when she was able to render a most material service to the new Government, she says, not untruly, so far as we can judge, that no strong feeling disturbed her impartiality. She was no more an Orleanist than was Queen Amélie herself, who never was able to acquiesce comfortably in what she felt to be a usurpation, inevitable perhaps, and even innocent, but still a usurpation, although she was too devoted a wife to criticise her husband, and loyally believed that he must always be in the right. Finding her smiling and, as it seemed, happy in the midst of some splendid festivities at Fontainebleau, Mme de Boigne kissed her hand and said how glad she was to see her contented and reconciled to her position. 'No, my dear,' answered the Queen, 'not for an hour, not for a minute. It is always, always the same as in my bedroom at Neuilly,' where she had wept in her friend's arms on the day in August 1830 when she left the home where so happy a family life had been spent. Such historical value as this book possesses consists mainly in this, that it enables us to see how the events of French history, from 1804 to 1848, struck a keen and intelligent observer who was no partisan, and who had every opportunity of hearing the views of the statesmen of all parties, the diplomatists, fine ladies and fashionable wits, who met as on neutral ground in her house and had confidence in her discretion.

Were the reproaches justified with which she tells us that the Chancellor Pasquier used to overwhelm her? 'You think yourself,' he would say, 'impartial, and yet there is no one less so'; and then would follow a diatribe on her aristocratic prejudices, her party spirit, her social exclusiveness, and so forth. She herself admits in more than one place that she had aristocratic prejudices which would accompany her to the tomb; and it is clear that she shrank from the contact of the profane vulgar and had no sympathy with their aspirations. She believed that Napoleon's dislike of the *idéologues* was inspired by his genius as a ruler; for the worthy people who dream of the happiness of nations only excite the passions of the multitude they flatter, and so bring about the disorganisation of society. Her contemptuous dislike of the Neapolitan Bourbons did not

move her to sympathy for Italian Liberals, any more than did the absurd reactionary mania of Victor Emmanuel I, who wished all things in his household and kingdom to be precisely as they were before 'novant-ott.' When she says that, although at bottom she belonged by a thousand prejudices to the 'Ancien Régime,' her English education had made her instinctively what has since been called a Liberal, Mme de Boigne intends us to take the word in its original and narrow French meaning, a royalist opponent to the 'Chambre Introuvable' and the Ultras. She describes the constitutional concessions of the Emperor in 1815 as an appeal to 'those popular passions which, under the names of liberty and nationality, soon lead to the most frightful tyranny.'

She stigmatises as they deserve the follies of the extreme Legitimists, their rancorous desire of revenge, their complete ignorance of their country, their unpatriotic reliance on the foreign invaders; and all the Voltairean in her revolts against their narrow fanaticism and their subservience to the Jesuits. But, although she recognised the merits of the Duke of Richelieu and approved of M. de Martignac, she was swayed (as she herself allows) by the clamour and calumnies of her friends among the Ultras. She underrated the ability and dreaded the liberalism of Decazes; nor did she do justice to the skilful statesmanship of Louis XVIII. She may have been prejudiced against him by what she had heard of the underhand and malicious part he had played before the Revolution, but we suspect that she was also influenced by her Russian acquaintances. Pozzo di Borgo was an old and intimate family friend. Nesselrode was constantly at her house. His name is the only one which scandal ever associated with hers. Neither the Tsar nor his Ministers could pardon the insolent ingratitude which, as it seemed to them and to Mme de Boigne, Louis XVIII had shown by taking the place of honour when he entertained the Emperor whose troops garrisoned his capital, thus at once asserting that he held his throne by divine right and not by the favour of the Allies, and reminding his guest that the descendant of the Romanoffs was but a parvenu by the side of the heir of St Louis. It was probably the same Russian influence which made her dislike Wellington and speak unjustly of Castlereagh,

whom she represents as the mere tool of Metternich, and which led her to take a generally unfavourable view of English policy.

She admired and was stirred to something like enthusiasm by the good behaviour and self-restraint, the courage and disinterested patriotism, of the populace in 1830. When talking with workpeople, she was struck by the progress made since the Restoration in their political education. But, although she allows that the days of July were glorious, she was never quite comfortable while her Orleanist friends were in power. Like the Queen, she was anxious for an understanding with the elder branch. She could not pardon the resistance of the Duchess of Orleans to a fusion, which would postpone, and might prevent, her son's succession to the Crown.

Her contempt for scribblers and journalists, and for all who make their way to power by the pen, may in part explain her dislike of the *doctrinaires*. Royer-Collard had (she said) little talent and was a mere windbag. She had no patience with the 'I am Sir Oracle' airs and self-satisfied smiles of Guizot. He was, she says, superficial and presumptuous. The origin and explanation of the favour which Louis Philippe never withdrew from him was the skill with which he guessed the King's thoughts and reproduced them with his self-complacent rhetoric. Mme Adelaide, who was at first repelled by his self-sufficiency, ended by liking him because he understood her brother so well—too well, as it proved, for the good of either, since by eloquently enlarging at all times on his master's wishes, he confirmed him in his errors and closed the lips of more prudent advisers. The crowd of journalists who fancied themselves men of importance excited the angry contempt of Mme de Boigne. She blamed the consideration with which they were treated by Louis Philippe, and was indignant that they should be admitted to the *fêtes* at Versailles on the occasion of the marriage of the Duke of Orleans.

'No doubt there were many names among the deputies and even among the peers who were invited, which would have astonished the society over which Mme de Montespan presided; but this was in keeping with circumstances, and a homage paid to our form of government. In spite of his ill-bred manners I was reconciled to seeing M. Dupin (the Presi-

dent of the Chamber of Deputies) treated as an important person at Versailles, but I was scandalised by the admission of M. Jules Janin and his colleagues' (iv, 197).

It was in her eyes a more serious misfortune that after the Revolution of 1830 the wishes of the well-meaning majority should have been constantly sacrificed to the clamour of the newspapers and the streets. Mme de Boigne, in short, belonged far more to the eighteenth than to the nineteenth century. She was in politics what we suspect she was in religion, a sceptic; she had no belief in the divine right of either kings or peoples.

The inaccuracies and lapses of memory which are numerous in the earlier chapters become less frequent in proportion as the events recorded are more recent. Yet it is difficult to deny that Mme de Boigne is throughout a voluble witness, pouring forth, unrestrained by the laws of evidence, all that she has heard and inferred, and giving life and colour to her story by the addition of such circumstantial details as her imagination and dramatic instinct may suggest. Let us examine, as typical of her methods, one or two of the anecdotes she relates in her first volume about English people whom she had met during her girlhood.

She tells, for instance, how, during her stay at Rome, a certain Miss Taylor insisted that her affianced lover, Mr 'Wilbraham Bootle' should, although he had a weak head, climb outside the dome of St Peter's to the golden cross. He performed his task, kissed the hand of the young lady, advised her in future, if she wished to keep her power, not to abuse it, got into his carriage, which was waiting, and then and there drove away from Rome. Miss Taylor was left to lament the folly which had lost her a match beyond anything her position and fortune gave her a right to expect. 'Ten years afterwards,' adds Mme de Boigne, a characteristic touch giving reality to her tale, 'I saw her again still unmarried.' The story itself may be true, though it bears a suspicious resemblance to the adventure of the Count de Lorges, immortalised by Schiller and by Browning's apology for the young lady; but Mme de Boigne certainly did not meet Miss Taylor unmarried in 1802, since, in April 1796, Edward Bootle-Wilbraham, afterwards the first Lord Skelmersdale, married Mary Elizabeth Taylor, daughter of the

Rev. E. Taylor of Bifrons, a man of property in Kent, the sister of Brook Taylor, sometime Minister at Berlin.

So also the story she tells of the marriage of Lord Exeter and Sarah Hoggins is wrong in nearly every detail. It is characteristic that she should profess an intimate knowledge of the character and previous life of Mr Cecil, and yet apparently not know that he had already been married and had divorced his wife. She tells us that, when he became Earl of Exeter in 1793, he had been married ten years to his rustic beauty. If so, the Countess Sarah, who died in 1797 at the age of twenty-four, can only have been ten years old at the time of her wedding. As to the end of Lady Exeter's short life, we prefer to believe Tennyson, who describes the despair of the widower, 'weeping, weeping, late and early,' and the 'Annual Register,' which says that the fashionable world deeply lamented an ornament who was 'respected, admired, and adored,' rather than our author, who tells us that the Countess' spirits were broken and her health wrecked less by the burden of too splendid a position than by suspicions of her husband's fidelity and by the constant slights she had to endure in society.

The detailed account of a tragedy in the family of the Earl of Kingston is a still stronger example of her circumstantial inaccuracy. She made this story the subject of an unpublished novel; and we cannot help suspecting that we have in her Memoirs a sketch of the projected romance. Mme de Boigne says that she was very intimate with 'Lady Mary Kingston,' as she calls Miss King, whose father was then Lord Kingsborough. This young lady eloped with Colonel Fitzgerald, a cousin who owed his position to the generosity of his aunt, Lady Kingsborough. Fitzgerald was married and father of a young family; yet Mme de Boigne appears to throw the blame of their culpable conduct on her friend, 'poor Mary,' a girl of sixteen. She tells how, when the seducer was challenged by the eldest brother of his victim, the duel was stopped because, after receiving his adversary's fire three times, Colonel Fitzgerald was forced to admit that he had managed to extract the bullets from his pistol. Now it happens that the 'Gentleman's Magazine' contains an account of this duel written on the same day (October 1, 1797) by Mr Wood, Colonel King's second.

Colonel Fitzgerald had told Mr Wood that he feared he would not be able to find a second 'on account of the odium thrown on his character.' The meeting was to be at the powder-magazine in Hyde Park. On their way thither King and Wood met Fitzgerald, accompanied by a surgeon, at Grosvenor Gate. He said it was as he feared; he had not been able to find a second, but had full confidence in the fairness of Wood. This gentleman told him to apply to his doctor, who refused to act, but said he would remain in sight.

'I [Wood] placed them at ten short paces. . . . I indulged a hope that Colonel F., conscious of the vileness of his conduct, would have thrown himself on Colonel King's humanity. . . . After the fourth shot Colonel Fitzgerald said something to me about giving him advice as a friend. I told him I was no friend of his, but that I was a friend to humanity. If . . . he would acknowledge that he was the vilest of human beings, and bear without reply any language from Colonel King, however harsh, the present business might come to a period. He consented to acknowledge that he had acted wrong, but no further; that was not enough.'

Two more shots were then exchanged. Fitzgerald's powder and balls were now exhausted. He wanted to borrow a pistol from King, who would have lent it; but this Wood refused to allow, and so the duel ended.

Next we are told by Mme de Boigne how Lady Mary was harshly imprisoned in a deserted castle belonging to her father on the shores of Connaught, and how, by the contrivance of her family and the treachery of the woman who was her gaoler, Fitzgerald was lured by a letter from his mistress into the neighbourhood and there perished. What Mme de Boigne wrote about the manner of his death has been suppressed by her editor, but his asterisks leave the reader to suppose the worst. According to her story, Lady Mary went mad. Mrs Fitzgerald clamoured in vain for justice. Lord Kingston and his son were generally shunned; but the earl was too great a man in Connaught for any one to bear witness against him. The whole matter was hushed up. These were facts substantiated by letters shown to the author by Mrs Fitzgerald, who persisted in finding excuses for her husband.

What really happened was that Miss King was taken

to the family seat, Mitchelstown, in county Cork. By means of a discharged maid she communicated with her lover, who came in disguise to the Kilworth Hotel. Colonel King, hearing that he was there, went to the inn, burst into Fitzgerald's room, and was struggling with him when Lord Kingsborough entered and shot Fitzgerald dead, in defence, so he alleged, of his son. True bills for murder were found against father and son by the grand jury of the county of Cork. Colonel King was acquitted at the assizes. His father, who in the meantime had succeeded to the earldom of Kingston, pleaded his peerage and was tried with much pomp before the Irish House of Lords on May 18, 1798, the last occasion on which the Irish peers sat as a court of justice. Although notice had been served upon the widow and children of Fitzgerald, and upon the Attorney-General, no counsel appeared, and no witnesses were called for the prosecution. The prisoner was accordingly acquitted, to the general satisfaction, so great was the sympathy felt with him owing to the extreme provocation under which he had acted. Lady Mary King, who, according to Mme de Boigne, lost her reason and passed from fits of furious mania into a state of apathetic imbecility, was sent to live under an assumed name in the family of a Welsh clergyman. Her brilliant conversational powers made her a general favourite, and she married, in April 1805, George Galbraith Meares, of Clifton. The death of the Right Honourable Lady M. Meares, at Shirehampton, in Gloucestershire, is duly chronicled by the 'Gentleman's Magazine' and the 'Annual Register' for 1819.

If space permitted, it would not be difficult to show that in some of the stories about people well known in French society, truth and fiction are mixed after much the same fashion; as, for instance, in the sketch of the earlier adventures of Mme de Mouchy, the lady whom Chateaubriand looked forward to meeting in the Alhambra as a reward for the devotion with which he had kissed the stones of the Holy Sepulchre. Mme de Boigne attributes to this lady the complaint that it was her hard lot, as soon as she had fallen in love with one man, to meet some one else whom she liked better—a saying ascribed at an earlier date to the Duchess of la Vallière, and probably to many another frail beauty.

Mme de Boigne's royalist critics have insisted on the malicious zest with which, according to them, she describes the failings of the Bourbon princes, and the readiness with which she accepts every story to their discredit. Her editor is even more pained by her dislike of their ultramontane supporters and by her ridicule of their puerile fanaticism. 'She often,' he laments, 'expresses her judgment in such terms that it has been found necessary to attenuate their unseemliness (*d'en atténuer l'expression déplacée*).' It is strange that, with this curious conception of an editor's duty, he should have admitted her account of the Princess Louise of Condé, whom she had revered at a distance as a saint, but found on nearer acquaintance to be commonplace, vulgar, ignorant, trivial in thoughts, feelings, actions, words and person. 'It was difficult,' she remarks, 'not to pity God, whom she so constantly worried with her importunities. I have seen her pray for help to find a ball of wool which had rolled under her chair.'

It can scarcely be denied that Mme de Boigne was sometimes biassed by her anti-jesuitical prejudices. For instance, impatience of his submission to the Congregation makes her ready to believe evil of Mathieu de Montmorenci. She had seen him in Switzerland living the life of a hermit, and expiating, with bitter remorse, the moral and political errors of his youth. She describes him as formed to please by every quality of body and mind, affectionate and witty, good-natured and dignified. His heart was divided between God and friendship. He died suddenly—fitting close to such a life—during the celebration of mass, 'kneeling at the foot of the cross where for thirty years he had sincerely worshipped.' Yet she would have us believe that this Christian gentleman, who enjoyed the well-deserved favour of the Duchess of Angoulême, and was, moreover, supported by all the influence of the Congregation, obtained his place as Minister for Foreign Affairs in the administration of Villèle by paying an unworthy court to the King's favourite, Mme de Cayla, the mistress of his own son-in-law, that epitome of Legitimist folly, Sosthène de la Rochefoucauld.

On the other hand, it does not seem that she was influenced by prejudice or malice in what she has told us about the Bourbons. She gives them full credit for

such virtues as they possessed. Even of Charles X she says that he had a heart not incapable of affection, and manners which, when he chose, were singularly winning; that he could condescend without affectation and be affable without loss of dignity. What more could honestly be said in praise of a prince who had neither the spirit of a man nor the honour of a gentleman, who atoned for a youth of frivolous debauchery by the narrow and mechanical devotion of his maturer years, who could play his game of whist unmoved while the windows of his palace were shaken by the reverberation of the cannon which swept the streets of his capital, secure of the result since the Holy Virgin had appeared to Jules (de Polignac) during the night and had assured him that all would be well?

The good qualities of the Duke of Angoulême, who, unlike his father, had no external graces—he was, she says, as ugly as a monkey—have rarely been more fully recognised by those who were not professed panegyrists. He was, she tells us, ‘as pious as an angel.’ His life had always been so exemplary that he needed no priestly intercessor to make his peace with Heaven. Hence, though he respected the clergy in their proper place, at the altar, he would not have them interfere in secular matters. He had shown sense and moderation as well as courage in Spain. He disapproved of the extravagances of the Ultras and resisted them, even when they were supported by his wife, for whom his respect and affection were equally deep and sincere. But neither for good nor evil would he be a leader of opposition. His first duty was to obey the King. He gave his opinion only when asked; yet he persuaded his father not to omit from the coronation oath, as the Ultras wished, the promise to maintain the Charter.

The Dauphin at first supported the Ministry of Martignac, in which he himself acted as Minister of War. Yet, ‘though not incapable, he was incomplete.’ Exaggerated deference to his father’s wishes, close contact with the Ministers on a footing which suggested rivalry, differences of opinion in the Cabinet, especially as to the appointment of the governor of the Duke of Bordeaux, the withdrawal of his confidence from the wise and moderate Pasquier, threw him more and more into

the arms of the extreme party, in accepting whose views he finally went even further than his wife.

Mme de Boigne also does full justice to the somewhat unamiable virtue of this princess. Awkward, ill-dressed, looking (so said the Tsar) like a housekeeper, she either knew not or disdained the arts by which she, 'the orphan of the Temple,' the one Bourbon known, pitied, and nearly loved by the people at the Restoration, might so easily have acquired popularity. Yet she bore herself like a great lady; and her austere and almost forbidding manners concealed an affectionate and a generous disposition. In the dreary exile of Louis XVIII and his Court at Mittau she had shown her charity and her patriotism by relieving the wants of the French prisoners. In her second exile, when the news of the fatal accident to the Duke of Orleans reached Vienna, the Count of Chambord went to the theatre; but the Duchess of Angoulême, 'following,' says our author, 'the dictates of that noble heart, which rarely failed her, especially in bad fortune,' put on mourning and absented herself from the festivities of the Court, because 'she was overwhelmed by the calamity which had befallen her family.' The dignity, says Mme de Boigne, with which she supported adversity was so great that she must be pardoned some errors in prosperity. The dreadful ordeal of the Temple may well have made her cling the more tenaciously to such shreds of etiquette as still protected royalty from vulgar contact. So regarded, there is a pathos in the strangely-timed presence of mind which made her step back with an 'after you, M. le Dauphin,' when leaving the room where, a minute before, the death of Louis XVIII had made her husband a king's son and her equal in precedence.

'But,' says M. Costa de Beauregard, 'Mme de Boigne would have us believe that Louis XVI was a lout, his wife a coquette, the Count of Artois a poltroon, and the mother of the Duke of Bordeaux an—I know not what.' He puts the matter rather crudely; but can any writer, even the most courtly, describe Louis XVI as graceful and dignified, his Queen as discreet, Artois as a high-spirited prince, and the Duchess of Berry as a matron above suspicion?

Mme de Boigne tells us nothing that we cannot read

in a hundred other books about the Court of Louis XVI; but, although she confesses that her function is gossip and not history, she gives prominence to much that is historically important. She enables us to see how the elaborate system of etiquette, originally devised to emphasise the sacred attributes of royalty, failed to impress a generation more prone to ridicule than to reverence, and produced invidious distinctions bitterly resented by men who would otherwise have had little sympathy with change. By no prince has the art of representation ever been carried to such a pitch of perfection as by Louis XIV. But it may be doubted whether, at the end of the eighteenth century, even Louis XIV could have impressed a crowd of courtiers by the dignity with which he allowed his shirt to be stripped off his shoulders and received his slippers. Louis XVI did not even make the attempt. He emphasised the grotesque indecency of a royal 'coucher' by such behaviour as our author describes, scratching his naked back, baffling by some sudden movement the attempts of the courtier highest in rank to slip his nightshirt over his head, and walking round the room with his breeches hanging about his knees. Etiquette did not prevent the Queen from going to a masked ball in a hired carriage and from talking there with whomsoever she might meet. It did not prevent her, when in bed with measles, from allowing a set of dissipated young men, among them Coigny and Guines, to sit in her room all day; indeed Mercy asserts that, but for the strongest representations from him and the Abbé Vermond, they would have remained there all night. But it compelled her, as Mme de Boigne tells us, to take the King by the arm and lead him out of the ball-room at Versailles, with the good-natured intention of enabling the wife of the President of the Parliament of Bordeaux, a man proud of his birth and position, to enter it. The President was, as might be expected, very indignant that his wife should not be held worthy of being in the same room as the King. In short, etiquette did nothing to protect the dignity of the Court, and only served to make it hateful to the nobles who were not people of quality, and to the middle-classes, by the wounds inflicted on their sensitive vanity.

As for Louis XVI, Mme de Boigne praises his un-

gainly virtues, and tells many stories which prove the kindness of his heart. Her father had been much averse from living at Versailles, but found that a courtier's life was less irksome than he expected, because the upright and honourable character of the King enabled him to appreciate in others the qualities which resembled his own. It is even more unjust to accuse her of calumniating Marie Antoinette. A hundred eye-witnesses, beginning with the mentor appointed by her mother to watch over her, Mercy Argenteau, have lamented the Queen's want of prudence in the choice of her friends—she had scarcely a person of decent character about her, said her brother Joseph—her gambling and her extravagance, her disregard of appearances. Every imprudence she committed was, as Mme de Boigne points out, exaggerated and enlarged upon by her enemies, until she had, especially among those at a distance, something of the reputation of a Messalina. Not the bitterest detractor of Mary Stuart, writes Mackintosh, would be so unjust as to compare her to Marie Antoinette. Yet 'those who knew her best were convinced that she had but one passion and perhaps one weakness,' excusable, if the chivalrous devotion and the many amiable qualities of him who inspired that passion may be pleaded in extenuation of her fault. Did she commit that fault? Mme de Boigne leaves the question open, but says that those most intimate with the Queen scarcely doubted that she had yielded to her love for Fersen.

English readers will remember Lord Holland's statement that Talleyrand had told him that Mme Campan professed to have assisted Fersen to escape from the Queen's room on the night of October 5, 1789, after the arrival of the Parisian mob. This story most certainly is not true; there is too complete a record of all that happened on that eventful night. But there is other evidence. M. de Klinckowström, who inherited Fersen's papers, published a part of the correspondence of Marie Antoinette with the faithful and ill-starred Swede, but carefully omitted all that might bear an interpretation injurious to the Queen, and before his death burnt all the unpublished letters. By some chance, part of the copy of one of the letters from the Queen to Fersen escaped the flames, and by the consent of M. de

Klinckowström's son was published in the 'Revue Bleue, and is quoted in a note by M. Nicoullaud (ii, 362).

'Je peux vous dire que je vous aime et je n'ai même le temps que de cela. Je me porte bien, ne soyez pas inquiet de moi. . . . Écrivez-moi en chiffre par la poste; l'adresse à M. de Browne . . . adieu, le plus aimé et le plus aimant des hommes, je vous embrasse de tout mon cœur.'

This letter, written in 1791, is apparently regarded as decisive, even by that ardent Legitimist M. Nicoullaud, who perhaps is not sorry to find a justification for the coldness with which, as Mme de Boigne shows, the Duchess of Angoulême regarded her mother's memory. But is it quite conclusive? Even the letters published by M. de Klinckowström are sufficient to show that Marie Antoinette was not insensible to Fersen's devotion; but does the warm expression of that sensibility in this letter prove that she forgot her duty to her husband? It would have been very consonant with the high-flown chivalry which, when his passion was in its first heat, drove Fersen from Court and across the Atlantic, that he should have continued to respect his mistress and his Queen. Mme de Boigne saw Marie Antoinette for the last time shortly before the King's aunts left for Italy. She was allowed, although practically a prisoner, to visit the old ladies at Bellevue.

'I found her on the terrace surrounded by men of the National Guard. My childish heart swelled at the sight and I began to sob. The Queen knelt down and pressed her face against mine, veiling both with my long hair. She begged me to hide my tears. I felt her own. Even now I seem to hear her "Hush, hush, my Adèle." She remained for some time without moving.'

M. Costa de Beauregard has a better case when he asserts that the account given by Mme de Boigne of the Duchess of Berry's adventures is malignant and inaccurate. Yet, though there may be some malice as well as error in the story told of her second marriage, the general impression left upon us as to the princess' character agrees well enough with what we gather from other sources. Mme de Berry, says our author, was by no means wanting in natural ability; and she gave abundant proof of her spirit and courage. There was

plenty of good material in her, but all had done their best to spoil it. When she came to France, an ignorant, inexperienced girl, no one attempted to educate or guide her except the Duchess of Angoulême, whose harsh admonitions inspired only fear and aversion. Her husband laughed at her follies and levity, and sought to atone for his numerous infidelities by letting her have her own way in all things and telling her to put herself out for nobody. It was little to be wondered at that she caused much offence, and that her indiscreet conduct gave rise to scandals too readily accepted by Mme de Boigne, who should have remembered what she says elsewhere about the credulity of Oppositions. It is no excuse that the Legitimists were among the first to spread such gossip about 'the mother of their King,' as Chateaubriand publicly hailed her whom in private he styled the 'acrobat.'

Mme de Boigne derides the notion that the Duchess had been married to Lucchesi, or had met him before the birth of her child at Blaye. No one in Europe, she says, was deceived by the pretended marriage with a man who had not left the Hague for two years; and she speaks of the search for a father and of the subsequent purchase of Count Lucchesi Palli as a matter of public notoriety, only wondering how the imprisoned princess was informed of the name of her husband. But it has been proved that the Duchess, who left England in the summer of 1831, met Lucchesi at Naples in the autumn; that they were secretly married at Rome on December 14, 1831; and that they left the same day for Massa. Charles X refused to receive his daughter-in-law after her release from prison until he was satisfied that the marriage had actually taken place, and sent M. de Montbel to Italy to investigate the matter. The marriage certificates and the entry in the register were shown by the Cardinal Vicar to Montbel.

But there was another difficulty. The princess landed in France in April, 1832. Lucchesi was attached to the Neapolitan embassy at the Hague. Her friends were unable to show where or when she and her husband could have met. Who was the father of the child born on May 10, 1833, at Blaye? Chateaubriand, when asked, shrugged his shoulders. 'How can I tell? Probably

she doesn't know herself.' Her loyal biographers were obliged to suppose that Lucchesi visited her in Brittany. But M. de Reiset has lately discovered a letter from the Duchess to her husband, and two letters from Lucchesi to her, which, if genuine, prove that she paid the Court a visit at the Hague in the late summer of 1832. She made her way from Brittany in the disguise of a peasant. That she should have been able to do so corroborates what we are told by Mme de Boigne about the anxiety of the French Government, until Thiers came into power, to give her every opportunity to leave the country. It is harder to understand why she was allowed to return to Nantes; and still more difficult to suggest a reason why it should have been left to chance to disclose, so many years after the event, the evidence which would, if produced at the time, have refuted the ill-natured gossip of enemies and faithless friends. We may, if we please, accept the vindication of the Duchess of Berry, but we cannot greatly blame Mme de Boigne for a scepticism which she shared with Charles X and his advisers.

It would not be difficult to fill many pages with extracts which, even when robbed by abridgment and translation of all the grace and vivacity of the original, would still be entertaining. But we shall better deserve the gratitude of our readers by urging them, if they have not already done so, to take up the 'Tales of an Aunt.' They will not find it easy to put down the volume when once in their hands, unless it be to take up another. It is difficult to turn to any page without lighting upon some brilliantly sketched scene. What can be better than the picture of Mme de Krüdener on her knees with her Imperial votary, praying for such things as the Tsar himself can bring about, and trusting that he will do so for the sake of proving to himself and others that the purity of his soul makes his prayers more efficacious than those of other mortals? Or that of Chateaubriand, after the Revolution of July, pacing up and down his study, his head swathed in a red bandanna, while he pours abuse on Charles X and his Ministers, and, stopping opposite a shelf containing his works, exclaims, 'But what can I answer to those thirty volumes facing me? No, no! they condemn me to throw in my lot with these wretched creatures. Who knows them better? Who despises,

who hates them more than I?' Or Talleyrand supported by two footmen on his painful deathbed, awaiting the King of Terrors with the same calm imperturbability which had enabled him to pass almost with dignity through the most trying scenes of his tortuous career, and using his last breath to utter a courtly compliment? Or M. Thiers offended that Mme Adelaide should have laughed because, when looking at the portrait of Turenne painted on his dinner-plate, he had said, 'That is what I should be—what I am!'

But we should never stop were we to attempt a catalogue of even a small part of the good things which have delighted us in these reminiscences. We have pointed out that not everything the author says is to be accepted as historical fact. The many memoirs and collections of letters published since she wrote have thrown a clearer light on many of the transactions related, and on the character of those concerned in them. Mme de Boigne, as we have said, had little insight into the deeper and more permanent causes of political change, or into the growth and influence of ideas which she neither liked nor understood. But the personal causes, the follies and faults of the rulers, which had so much to do with the revolutions of 1830 and 1848, are placed vividly before us; and we are made to realise that the optimism of the talented Guizot and of his master, the 'modern Ulysses,' was hardly less blind and obstinate than that of the fatuous Charles X and his imbecile minister Polignac.

P. F. WILLERT.

Art. 15.—THE NEAR-EASTERN QUESTION.

I. AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

1. *L'Europe et la Question d'Autriche*. By André Chéradame. Fourth edition. Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1906.
2. *The Whirlpool of Europe: Austria-Hungary and the Habsburgs*. By A. R. and E. Colquhoun. London: Harper, 1907.
3. *Questions d'Autriche-Hongrie*. By René Henry. Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1908.
4. *The Political Evolution of the Hungarian Nation*. By Hon. C. M. Knatchbull-Hugessen. Two vols. London: 'National Review' Office, 1908.
5. *Racial Problems in Hungary*. By Scotus Viator (R. W. Seton-Watson). London: Constable, 1908.
6. *The Development of Hungarian Constitutional Liberty*. By Count Julius Andrassy. London: Kegan Paul, 1909.
7. *Die Nationalitätenfrage und die Ungarische Reichsidee*. By 'Mercator.' Budapest: M. Rath, 1908.

ANY attempt to look at the Near East from the point of view of the Austro-Hungarian nationalities is rendered especially difficult by the fact that questions of foreign policy are excluded from parliamentary debates in those countries. The only assembly in which such subjects can be discussed is the so-called 'Delegations,' two bodies composed of members representing in equal proportions the Austrian Empire and the Hungarian Kingdom. One-third of the members of the Austrian Delegation are chosen by the Upper Chamber of the Reichsrath, and are usually men connected with the Imperial Court; while the rest, chosen by the Second Chamber, are mainly ex-ministers and lawyers and soldiers of high professional rank. The Christian Socialist party, which is really the Clerical party under a new guise, represents the only democratic element; and now that the Austrian Government has adopted a Clerical attitude, it is assured of their support. The attitude of the Hungarian Delegation seems to be equally favourable to a 'Clerical' policy (and in Bosnia-Herzegovina the Clerical attitude has predominated); while other reasons, to be touched on hereafter, secure the support of Hungary for Baron Aehren-

thal's views. Not even from the Bohemian members of the Delegation is severe criticism to be expected; and the result is that, with grave internal dissensions on the subject, Austria-Hungary is able to present an unruffled front to the world in the matter of her foreign policy.

It is, however, necessary to penetrate beneath the official surface in order to appreciate the attitude of Austria-Hungary, not as a State, but as a conglomeration of nationalities, towards the Near-Eastern question. While it would be impossible in the limits of this article to give any idea of the numberless eddies and torrents which go to make up the 'Whirlpool of Europe,' we may endeavour to trace some of the main currents, and to show how they are setting at the present time. It is, of course, a truism to say that these internal conditions, this play and interplay of conflicting forces, have been determining factors in deciding the policy which has recently brought Europe to the verge of war. The strained relations between the two halves of the Dual Monarchy rendered necessary some definite and decisive action on the part of Austria; and the question of the subject nationalities—a burning one in both Austria and Hungary—is inextricably bound up with the Balkan policy of the great Powers.

The political evolution of Austria in the nineteenth century, with which M. Chéradame begins his '*L'Europe et la Question d'Autriche*,' marked the introduction of a new factor in European politics; and the last step in that evolution, by which a democratic suffrage was bestowed on all the people of the Austrian crown-lands, is likely to cause an even greater modification, though still too recent for its effects to be discerned. The hereditary policy of the Habsburgs was the preservation of the Teutonic hegemony, not through numbers—for Austria is predominantly Slav—but through wealth, culture, and the influence of the Church. Right across the path of this policy has arisen the revived Bohemia; and some idea of the strength of this revival is essential to a comprehension of Austria's internal problem.

In Bohemia the crux of the nationalist problem centres in the language question; and here the Czechs possess several advantages over other peoples with whom they are sometimes compared. Czech was the only 'authorised'

and official tongue for many centuries. So late as 1615, a vote of the Diet reaffirmed the official position of the native Bohemian language. A few years later the battle of the White Mountain shattered Bohemian liberties; the property of the old nobility was confiscated; their estates were mostly given to the generals of the Imperial army—Germans, Spaniards or Italians—who were ignorant of the language of the country; and an Imperial decree placed German on an 'equality' with Czech. But the decay of the latter language was slower than is usually imagined, and was never—as Count Lützow tells us in his 'History of Bohemia'—at all complete. Not till Maria Theresa began to push on the work of germanisation by education and social influence did the national tongue shrink away from cultured centres and become a peasant or provincial dialect. It never ceased to be a living tongue; and, when the patriots of the early nineteenth century began their work of revival, they had not to create a modern language, but simply to bring an existing one up to the level of modern educational demands. Czech is now once more the 'official' language of Bohemia; and, although it shares that dignity with German, the latter is losing ground.

The nationalist spirit of Bohemia centres in the beautiful city of Prague. During the last few months this city has seen a revival, in its crudest form, of the Slav and German struggle. Students need not always be taken too seriously, and many sober and serious Nationalists regard the Chauvinism of their younger brethren with regret; but the unpleasant fact remains that the Austrian authorities felt it necessary to place Prague under martial law, and to send executioners from Vienna to carry out the decrees of the martial courts. No one who has witnessed a great nationalist demonstration like the meeting of the Sokols in 1906, when 27,000 men were massed together in Prague and a week's programme was carried through without a hitch, can fail to be struck by the fact that this city, usually so well ruled and organised, was regarded by Austria as unable to control its unruly elements without the imposition of martial law.

The aim of the Czechs is to restore their country to its position as a sovereign State within the Habsburg realms. Dr Kramarz, the most prominent of the Young

Czech leaders, told his countrymen, 'The aim of our politics can be no other than that the Bohemian people should again become the sustainers of the idea of the State . . . in a fashion corresponding with the needs of the day and of the whole Empire, and with just consideration for the Germans who inhabit these lands along with us.' The chief difficulty in the way of realising this ideal is the constant opposition of the Germans to any proposal which would rob them of their position as the dominant race in Austria. They are, however, clutching at the shadow of greatness. Their hegemony is already gone; they held it, as a minority of nine in twenty-six millions, merely by virtue of their superiority in education and commerce, their solidarity, and their State supremacy. The new franchise, gerrymandered as it is to give the German minority a spurious equality, will inevitably tell against them in time.

Prague has played a most important part in the new Neo-Slav movement which has replaced Pan-Slavism. Pan-Slavism, in its original form, stood for russianisation—for Eastern Orthodoxy, autocracy, and village communism—all antipathetic to the Slavs of a greater part of Austria, who are Catholics and democrats. But the Neo-Slav movement is a living reality. The abandonment by Russia of a Far-Eastern policy, which never had any national support and ended in disaster, has turned the eyes of the Russian people once more towards Europe; and the humiliation inflicted on their government by Germany is only a temporary check. Bohemia has played an honourable part in suggesting a new form of Slav unity, based on a community of Slav culture, literature, and racial pride. The first Neo-Slav conference was held at Prague; and the Bohemian delegate who afterwards went to Russia made in the latter country a strong plea for a more liberal treatment of the Poles, which was warmly received by his auditors. Of the Polish question we must speak later, but its connexion with the Bohemian must not be forgotten.

Considering all these facts—the successful nationalist revival in Bohemia, her power in Austria, and her place in the Neo-Slav movement—one might have expected some intervention in the present anti-Slav movement more effective than a few student riots. As a matter of

fact, the Bohemians do feel and do express, so far as their vernacular press is permitted, a strong sympathy for the Servians; and yet Dr Kramarz and the Bohemian delegates generally have uttered only the mildest criticism of Austria's policy. Only one Radical deputy was found to give vent to what is, in reality, the popular Bohemian feeling on the subject. The only possible explanation of this is that the Czech politicians are privately convinced that the inclusion of another two million Slavs in the Dual Monarchy precludes a change in the system of government. This inclusion will not merely strengthen the Slavs in Austria, but give them a clear majority over all other races in the Dual Monarchy; the Slavs will outnumber Germans, Magyars, Roumans and 'others' combined.

The Magyar point of view is the next to be considered. Students of the evolution of the Hungarian State have recently had the opportunity of finding it discussed at some length in a book by Mr Knatchbull-Hugessen which has met with the enthusiastic approbation of the present Magyar leaders. It is copiously annotated, very largely from the works of modern writers in the Magyar tongue who are not accessible to the ordinary reader. In the preface the author expresses a hope that he has lifted 'a corner of the veil which ignorance of the Hungarian language necessarily interposes between the British public and the only reliable sources of information as to the growth and nature of the political institutions of the Magyars.' But what are 'reliable sources' in this connexion? Surely not the partisan writings of modern political journalists and essayists. The history of the political evolution of the Hungarian nation must be sought in other fields; and, when it is remembered that the Hungarian language did not assume a literary form till the first quarter of the last century, it is clear that ignorance of it is no bar to original research.

The desire to give English readers a view of Hungarian history through native spectacles has prompted Mr and Mrs Ginever to the task of translating Count Julius Andr  ssy's first ponderous instalment of a history of the constitutional development of his country, which, in 463 pages, takes us only as far as Matthias II (1619).

Mr Hugessen has a better idea of the tastes of English readers; but one has not to read far before one detects him in what is either carelessness or misrepresentation. 'The Hungarian nobility (he says) was no privileged caste, but was synonymous and co-extensive with the whole Magyar nation,* and it is essential to a comprehension of subsequent history that this fact should not be forgotten.' The first statement is a contradiction in terms. The Hungarian nobility was distinguished from the outset by its privileges; it had no other mark. At first there was only one class—the nobility, without primogeniture and without titles. By degrees the nobles split into greater and lesser, magnates and gentry; but all possessed privileges. Next, how can it be said that the Hungarian nobility is synonymous with the Magyar nation? In the old kingdom of Hungary there was no nationality in the modern sense. The language of the State was Latin; and the only persons admitted to participation in the government were Slovaks, Germans, or Magyar nobles. The Magyars were the central and dominant race in the kingdom; but many who have made the greatest names as Hungarian patriots were not Magyar by birth. It is entirely the work of a modern school, of which Mr Hugessen is the mouthpiece, to attempt to make the words Magyar and Hungarian synonymous; and this attempt is the root of what is now known as the 'nationalities question.'

The census of 1900 shows that the Magyars number only 54.4 per cent. of the population in Hungary proper (exclusive of Croatia-Slavonia); and this estimate includes a large number of magyarised Jews and others. Mr Hugessen anticipates that the nationalities question will be settled by the absorbent power of the Magyars;† and a few years ago many people might have agreed with him. It is an undeniable fact that Magyars form an increasing percentage of the urban population; but, in view of the stream of oversea emigration from the Hun-

* Mr Hugessen talks of 'the one and indivisible' and the 'homogeneous' Magyar nation (ii, 328, 338).

† 'At the present rate of increase, in 1940 the population of Hungary without Croatia will be 24,600,000, and the Magyars will form 72 per cent. of the total. Then there will no more be a nationalities question than there is in Russia, where only 70 per cent. are Russians, including the White Russians and Little Russians' (ii, 324).

garian plain, hitherto the stronghold of national character, this does not in itself promise very well for the future of the nation.

As to the actual growth of the Magyar language, however, Mr Seton-Watson, whose book should be read at the same time as Mr Hugessen's, gives some interesting statistics, taken from official Hungarian sources. According to these, out of the half of the population of Hungary which is non-Magyar, 83·2 per cent. are ignorant of what Mr Hugessen would consider their 'national language'; and the figures are practically the same for 1900 as for 1890. Of the whole population of Hungary 31·8 per cent. cannot speak Magyar. That this is the result of Magyar sensitiveness to the claims of the smaller nationalities is a suggestion rather discounted by educational statistics. Although 31·8 per cent of Hungarians are ignorant of Magyar, 70·9 per cent of the primary schools, 95·4 of the grammar schools, 91·1 of the commercial and industrial schools, 91·7 of the *gymnasias*, and 92·3 *real* schools use Magyar as the medium of instruction; and there are nearly a quarter of a million children attending schools where their mother-tongue is not used even as a subsidiary. It is true that the Magyars are the most advanced race, except the Germans, in Hungary; but, to take one race alone, the most ignorant and backward—the Slovak—we find that in 1879 there were 1837 schools where Slovak was the vehicle of instruction, while in 1905 there were only 241. From an educational point of view this divorce between the language of school and home is hardly conducive to improvement; and it is not surprising to find that, although the percentage of illiterates in proportion to population decreases, the actual number of illiterates has increased.

It does not appear therefore that the slow rate of progress in the magyarisation of Hungary is due to any tenderness on the part of the State, but rather that the whole strength of its powerful machinery is exerted to crush small, weak, and scattered nationalities. Far from being successful, however, the obstinacy of the Slavs and the pride of the Roumans seem to have been stimulated by persecution. That there has been persecution cannot be denied. From court-house records and newspapers Mr Seton-Watson has compiled the history

of some of the political prosecutions. These show that between 1886 and 1896 no fewer than 363 Roumanians, of whom nearly half (155 in all) were peasant farmers and agriculturists, were tried for political offences. Out of the 508 Slovaks tried between 1898-1908, 316 were peasants. The principal offence is officially known as 'instigation'—that is, any act which can be construed into anti-Magyar propaganda, including the singing of national patriotic songs, or any glorification of a smaller nationality which can be construed into a reflection on the dominant race.

In consequence of a recent debate in the Hungarian Parliament, when a Rouman deputy was 'deprived of the word' for protesting against the magyarisation of the army, there is now to be a revision of the criminal code in order to deal (more efficiently, it is to be supposed) with any attack on the 'idea of the Magyar State.' Count Albert Apponyi declared that the Government is prepared to extend the influence of the Magyar language in every direction. This declaration expressly violates the Nationalities Law of 1868, by which the State pledged itself 'that all citizens of whatever nationality living together in considerable numbers shall be able, in the neighbourhood of their homes, to get instruction in their mother-tongues up to the point where higher academic culture begins.' The cult of the Magyar State is, in fact, the Juggernaut before whose car all other considerations are to be thrown down. There is not wanting a school (including even some moderates) who believe that only in the consolidation and homogeneity of the Magyar State is it possible to find a cure for the centrifugal forces now at work. In pursuance of this idea they are prepared to stamp out resistance; and they are adopting precisely the means which proved so ineffective in their own case when Austria tried to germanise them. This is the more to be regretted because the Magyars, by reason of their central position and superior political ability, would have found no difficulty in retaining control of the State, even had they adopted a liberal policy towards the smaller nationalities. Deák, Eötvös, and Széchenyi saw the necessity of building up the Hungarian State with the sympathy and support of all the nationalities. Deák warned the Magyars against attempts 'to magyarise the nation-

alities at all costs,' and urged the necessity of protecting their rights. Some of these rights, according to Mr Hugessen, are respected to an absurd degree in the Hungary of to-day! It has remained for the present generation to declare that Deák was 'weak' and 'gave away the Magyar position,' not only in the terms of the *Ausgleich* with Austria, but in the Law of Nationalities already referred to. Mr Hugessen contends that the *Ausgleich*, which Count Julius Andrassy in 1888 (twenty years after its conclusion) asserted was 'intended to settle matters for all time,' was only a temporary arrangement; and he refers approvingly to Count Albert Apponyi, 'who, though an adherent of the principles of 1867, regarded the Compromise, not as a perfect creation, but as a foundation for a satisfactory superstructure. He travelled by another route, but in the same direction as the Party of Independence' (ii, 264-7). Mr Hugessen is certainly justified in his assertion that 'new generations have arisen which see matters through other spectacles than those of 1867.'

The case of Croatia is quite apart from that of other nationalities. In 1868 a treaty was executed between Hungary and Croatia, which by its form expressly established the independence of the latter as a separate nation within the lands of St Stephen. The concession was made to secure Croatia's support against the other 'nations.' She obtained autonomy under a Hungarian Ban, a Diet of her own at Agram, and the right to be represented at Budapest by forty delegates. The policy of Hederváry was, from 1885-1905, successful in maintaining a government party, with a majority in the Agram Diet and in touch with the Liberals in Hungary; but this party shared the fate of the Hungarian Liberals in 1905, and since then there has been chaos.

When, in 1906, the Coalition in Hungary was in the throes of its struggle with Austria, two of its leaders, Kossuth and Polónyi, concluded with what was known as the Serbo-Croat party at Agram a pact, called the 'Fiume Resolution,' which, in return for support against Austria, engaged to give greater electoral and press liberties, freedom of association and public meeting, and other concessions which Croatia would have welcomed. The

Serbo-Croat party was, however, opposed by a Nationalist party which desired, not concessions; but independence (under the Habsburg crown); and, as the new Liberal programme was not carried out, matters went from bad to worse until, in the mood of Chauvinism which has recently dominated Magyar statesmen, Kossuth introduced his State Railway Bill, which made the knowledge of Magyar compulsory for every official of the Hungarian State railways which run through Croatia. The merits or demerits of this proposition do not concern us here. Its result was to alienate all sections of Croatians, and to raise the question of constitutional relations in an acute form. Parliamentary government has become impossible, as the Ban cannot get a majority in the Diet. Baron Paul Rauch is pursuing his way regardless of the constitutional irregularity. Croatia is sternly governed; taxes are raised; a strict press censorship is established; and the whole country is treated almost as if martial law had been proclaimed. Great efforts have been made to crush any demonstrations of sympathy with Serbia; and political prosecutions have culminated in the trial of a number of men for alleged high treason in fomenting a 'Greater Serbia' plot, and in suggesting the union of Croatia and Slavonia with Bosnia and Serbia.

Dr Wekerle has declared that this 'Greater Serbia' plot made necessary the precipitate action of Austria in the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina; but, when one looks at the probabilities, it is impossible to attach much importance to this wonderful plot. Croatia is Catholic; Serbia and Bosnia are predominantly Orthodox. Croatia is essentially loyal to the Habsburg Crown, and would certainly not wish to be merged in a Great Serbia. She has no interests, political or economic, to be served by a separatist policy; quite the contrary. Her ambitions are limited to the reassertion of her rights, the liberty of language and press, and if possible her juridical independence within the Habsburg realms. Probably she asks for more than she would be contented with, for she is a little country and very poor. Her people are being driven from their motherland to a more hospitable shore across the Atlantic. One thing is certain, however; she will not recognise the Magyar State idea or adopt it in lieu of her own national one.

The *impasse* into which Hungarian Chauvinists and the Croat 'Sinn Fein' party have led their respective countries must largely affect the view of the Balkan situation taken at Budapest. Croatia lies between Hungary and her outlet to the sea. Its people are one in race with those of Serbia and the annexed provinces. Small and weak as the Croatians are, they hold a strong position geographically and racially, and they may yet play again the part which enabled them, at a decisive moment in 1848, to throw their weight into the scale between Austria and Hungary.

Space does not admit of any full description of the position of the other smaller nationalities. Readers of Mr Seton-Watson's book will find in it a careful study of one of them, the Slovaks, and a sketch of the Rouman nationalist movement. His method is to leave nothing unproved, but to give chapter and verse for every assertion, so far as possible from Hungarian and official sources. The result is a mass of evidence to prove that, in support of the Magyar State idea, Magyars are prepared to go nearly as far as the most germanising of the Habsburgs. Prizing political liberty themselves, they will not concede it to others.

Before leaving this subject, reference may be made to a similar policy pursued in a neighbouring territory—the attempted prussianisation of the inhabitants of Prussian Poland. Whereas Austria has adopted a liberal policy with the Poles in Galicia, Prussia has been engaged in a desperate, and so far unavailing, effort to denationalise the Polish subjects who fell to her in the successive partitions of the ancient kingdom of Poland. Bismarck believed that by breaking up the Poles he would destroy their sense of nationality; and since his time there has been a steady attempt to prussianise them, first through education, and secondly, through the immigration of Germans and their establishment on the land. On January 13, 1902, Prince Bülow declared that 'The Polish question is, in my opinion, not only one of the most important questions of our political life, but undoubtedly the question on the development of which the immediate future of our country depends.' This pronouncement was evoked by the fact that, so far, the prussianising policy had wholly failed; and that the Poles were actually

gaining ground, helped by the growth of nationalism, common to all Slav countries, and the Liberal fermentation in Russia. Prince Bülow's statement was the prelude to the announcement, in 1907, of a Bill for the compulsory expropriation of Polish landlords, with a view to extending German colonisation. The Poles, who have successfully defended their language, probably cannot resist this expropriation, but they replied at once by a boycott of Prussian goods. A remarkable feature is the rise of a Polish middle class. Hitherto the Poles were divided into landowners and peasants; but the dislike of Germans has led to the creation of medical, legal, and commercial classes—educated and powerful agents of Polish nationalism. In adversity the Poles have developed qualities which might have saved them at an earlier period. Even the agricultural labourers who go to work at a distance from their homes bring back savings which are deposited first in the hands of their priest and then in the newly-established Polish National Bank, serving to help the national cause in various ways. Moreover, it is becoming evident that the Polish element prevails over the German in mixed marriages, the children being almost invariably brought up in Polish traditions. In the decade 1890-1900 the Poles increased by 10½ per cent., the Germans by only 3½ per cent.; while the former were buying back the land sold under the settlement commission almost as fast as the Germans acquired it.

There are several points of view from which this Prussian-Polish question influences the present Austro-Hungarian situation. The success of the Poles in defying denationalisation does not pass unobserved by the smaller nations in Hungary. It also plays a part in the Neo-Slav movement. As already noted, the Bohemians have claimed from Russia a better treatment for its Polish subjects in the name of Slav unity; and although, as an appeal to the official world, this may not have produced great results, it has not fallen on deaf ears. The National Democratic party which has grown up in Russian Poland has taken a lesson from Bohemia and Hungary, and concentrates much attention on the language question, and on the development of the moral and social traditions of Polish history. This party captured practically all the seats allotted to Poland in

the first Duma; and in the end it was able, by its parliamentary skill, to exercise an influence which brought down on it the censure of the Russian authorities for taking so prominent a part in Russian politics. The Polish representation was reduced by one-half, but the party continues its course; and, in the rise of Liberalism in Russia, a great mass of opinion is being swayed towards the granting of the moderate and constitutional demands of M. Dmowski and his followers. This little subject people, this fragment of a nation, no longer asks for separation or plots for a reunion with the dismembered portions of ancient Poland, but concentrates on the demand for autonomy within the Empire, with freedom to use the national tongue and to control its own internal affairs. It is asking, in effect, for such treatment as Austria has given to Galicia; and, if Russian Liberalism has its way, it will get it.

No more fatal blow could be struck at the position of the Prussians in Prussian Poland than such a concession to the Poles just over an artificial border. The Russo-Polish frontier is 750 miles in length; and Berlin is only 180 miles from this frontier. A chain of fortresses protects it; but, to ensure its safety, the provinces behind, now predominantly Polish, need to be secured. This strategic necessity accounts for the stress laid by Prince Bülow on the Polish situation; and it also indicates a weak point in the German-Austro-Hungarian position, should the present 'settlement' prove only the prelude to a conflict with Russia as the head of the Slavs.

The Slavs, and their inconvenient national obstinacy, form internal problems for Austria, Hungary, and Germany; and, of these three, the first alone has acted with real statecraft in placating, instead of irritating, that nationalism. Nevertheless it is Austria-Hungary that appears just now as the aggressor, thus ranging herself definitely on the German side in the struggle of Teuton *versus* Slav. That Hungary should give countenance to anything projected by Austria at the present stage; nay more, that she should actually suspend hostilities and help to 'keep the ring,' is sufficiently significant. One need not look far for the explanation of her attitude. Hungary, in the words of Bismarck, quoted by M. René Henry (p. 131), is 'nothing but an

island in the middle of a vast sea of Slav peoples; and, having regard to her numerical inferiority, she can only secure her safety by leaning on the German element in Austria and on Germany.* An impression exists that Hungarians are necessarily anti-German because of their struggle with the German house of Habsburg and its influences; but, having won this fight, the Magyar seems to be convinced that the Slav, not the German, constitutes the true danger, especially now that the Magyar State idea has usurped the place of a more liberal Hungarian nationality. A comparison between the Magyars and the Prussians in this connexion would not be as far-fetched as it appears at first sight.*

The foreign policy of Baron Aehrenthal had therefore the unforeseen effect of bringing out of his retirement Count Stephen Tizsa, and ranging him beside the Coalition Ministers, with whom he was imagined to have so little in common, in support of Austria's action. He lectured Great Britain on her attitude towards the Bosnia-Herzegovina question, and declared that the present would be the worst possible moment for any display of generosity towards Servia. The writer of this article, on reading this speech, was carried back to some days spent on the farm of the ex-Premier, then in strict bucolic retirement, and to his oft-reiterated words: 'The Slavs are our danger; the Germans are only the music of the future.' It must not be forgotten that, as part of the historic lands of the Hungarian Crown, Bosnia-Herzegovina should eventually be restored to the Magyar State; but no inconvenient stress has been laid on this at present. It would certainly not help to solve Hungary's difficulties that two million Slavs should be added to her; and it will be interesting to see if historic pride will permit a commercial arrangement more to her advantage. In any case she will possess one more high card in the game she is playing with Austria for complete separation, economic independence, and the Magyar language in the army.

* This idea is developed in the brochure by 'Mercator,' who reminds his readers that the Magyars were the leading race of the Middle Ages, looked up to by Poles, Bohemians, and southern Slavs as a superior power. They were a nucleus to which others adhered. Some of their heroes were Roumans or Croats. That, however, was before the Chauvinistic days.

Turning to the events which led up to the present Balkan crisis, one needs to take a comprehensive view of the situation in order to fit the actors into their proper places. The domination of the Balkans and an outlet on the *Ægean*—this is the prize. Germany and her *avant-garde*, Austria-Hungary, play for it on one hand; Russia on the other. Russia purchased the neutrality of Austria during the Russo-Turkish war by the secret convention of January 15, 1877, which gave in advance the status in Bosnia-Herzegovina which the Treaty of Berlin afterwards formally confirmed. The acquiescence of King Milan of Serbia was secured by a promise, formally ratified, that after a while his country should be permitted to expand into 'Old Serbia'—the Macedonian vilayets. Some time later he learnt that a similar pledge had been given to Bulgaria. M. Victor Bérard, in '*La Révolution turque*,' gives a succinct description of conflicting policies at this period. Great Britain and France wanted to europeanise Turkey, acting through the central Government. Austria and Russia, on the contrary, desired a surgical operation—'*autonomie ou anatomie*.' Then followed '*les belles années pour l'entente Austro-Russe*,' developing into the Müritzsteg programme and the so-called 'mandate' to Austria and Russia. Important events, some of them epoch-making, succeeded each other rapidly—the Russo-Japanese war, renewed anarchy in Macedonia, the intervention of England, the financial scheme, the Moroccan imbroglio, the royal meetings of 1907, the judicial reforms for Macedonia, and finally the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907, which, M. Bérard declares, put an end to the Austro-Russian monopoly.

The first sign of independent or rather competitive action was the railway war. Austria announced the concession from Turkey for a line to run through the sandjak of Novi Bazar, designed to connect the Bosnian system with Mitrovitza and Salonica. A storm rose among the southern Slavs; and Russia replied with a counter-project for a Slav line from the Danube to the Adriatic. Bulgaria pressed for the connexion of her system not yet completed. Italy expressed her desire for a line from the coast opposite Brindisi to Monastir. While the excitement caused by these projects was still simmering, the Turkish revolution, like a thunderbolt,

altered the whole situation; and hardly had the reverberations died away when a fresh complication arose.

It is tolerably certain that, although Austria recognised the necessity, in view of a reformed Turkey, of making permanent the hold she had established in Bosnia, she would never have chosen such a time and method for announcing her intention had not Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria forced the pace. Having been assured of Austro-German support for his pretensions to independent Tsardom, in return for neutrality in regard to a step which was bound to embitter the rest of the Slav world and particularly the southern Slavs, Prince Ferdinand thought a bird in the hand worth two in the bush, crossed the Rubicon, and left his confederate Aehrenthal to follow with the annexation, to arrange with Turkey, and to meet the reproaches of Europe. Moreover, the astute diplomatist of Sofia, after arranging his difference with Turkey, executed a sort of double insurance, and in a triumphal visit to St Petersburg reaffirmed the quondam reliance of Bulgaria on Russia. Subsequently it was announced that not only public opinion but Government policy in Bulgaria were inclined to support Serbia.

At this point it is necessary to consider the position of Serbia herself. Although it has suited Austria to represent Serbia's futile intervention as gratuitous, she had an irrefutable claim to a hearing. Her position was settled by the Treaty of Berlin, without regard to her aspirations; but the Powers who settled that position had also a moral responsibility towards the little kingdom that she should not be stifled or starved by her politico-geographic conditions. Before the Treaty of Berlin she had access through Turkish territory to the Adriatic; but the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina drew an Austrian cordon round two sides of her; and her only other outlets were the long journey by the Danube (also controlled at the Iron Gates by Austria) and the Salonica railway, whose freights are prohibitive to agricultural produce or cattle, which are Serbia's only exports. Serbia became, therefore, the economic prisoner of Austria; and any attempts to find other markets than those of Austria were frustrated. The 'pig war,' which seemed comic to Europe at large, was life or death to the Servian farmer.

When, therefore, Serbia perceived that her economic

disadvantage was to be perpetuated, she lost her head in the fervour of patriotic indignation, and made a fatal mistake. This was the claim for territorial compensation in the shape of a strip of land in Bosnia which would give Serbia connexion with Montenegro and access to the Adriatic. Had Austria made it plain at this juncture that, beyond the annexation of provinces already under her control, for which she was prepared to pay a monetary compensation to Turkey, she had no ulterior motives, the crisis might have passed. But Serbia's blunder, and the indiscretions of her press and her Crown Prince, gave an opportunity for a 'lesson to the Slavs,' which Baron Aehrenthal and his supporters in Budapest and Berlin were not sorry to seize. Accordingly it was declared that Serbia's attitude was a menace to Austria; and it became clear that Serbia had no course open save to 'eat the leek,' submit to disarmament or risk all upon a desperate hazard.

Were it simply a question of Austria-Hungary, a great military power with an aggressive policy, pitted against Serbia, an agricultural state with no policy at all, the conclusion would be foregone. But no move in the Balkan game is really isolated; and the present situation is no exception. Here we see Teuton and Slav again in conflict. The struggle of Austro-Germanic and Russian influence for predominance in the Balkans has entered a fresh stage. Serbia and Bosnia are pawns in the game; Bulgaria has achieved the dignity of knighthood, and shares with Poland the honour of being one of the two pivots on which the situation turns. Austria's great chance of a free hand with Serbia lay in the obvious inability of Russia to make any move at this stage in her career—an inability which Baron Aehrenthal, in his long experience of Russia, believed himself to have accurately gauged. At the same time it was, to many people, an incredibly rash policy which ranged a predominantly Slav State like Austria-Hungary, with all her internal dissensions, against the Slav world, with Russia at its head. Austria, hitherto regarded as holding the balance in Middle Europe, now, at a crisis in her history, threw herself into the Teutonic scale. In return she receives that support of her policy by which Germany, also turning her back on a traditional policy, inflicts an

unforgettable humiliation on Russia. Bulgaria, whose conduct has never displayed any altruism, cannot regard with equanimity the disappearance of the buffer-state between herself and the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Another actor in the drama, on whose acquiescence Baron Aehrenthal counted, was Italy. Her position is one of extreme difficulty. Tied still by the Triple Alliance, she is yet fundamentally opposed to any policy which will strengthen Austria-Hungary on the Adriatic. Yet this is exactly what she has to face. As a compensation she has been promised the Antivari railway, with its trade possibilities, and support of her Monastir line; but, in any case, the disaster at Messina paralysed her energies at the critical moment, and she can only play the part of onlooker.

As for the annexed provinces themselves, there is no remedy save to agitate constitutionally for autonomy within the Empire. Austria, as has been said, has treated her other Slav subjects with generosity. Unfortunately for the Serbo-Croats of the annexed provinces, they have fallen, not into the hands of the Emperor Francis Joseph, who has become comparatively liberal and constitutional in his ideas, but into those of his heir and 'the new Andrassy,' Baron Aehrenthal, the exponents of a new and vigorous foreign policy. It is no secret that the Archduke, Franz Ferdinand, for so long a time a 'dark horse,' has developed strong ideas, and is by no means likely to be a colourless ruler. He is of the clerical reactionary school, a Habsburg of the old type; and his hand is visible in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the Catholic propaganda, which is causing such bitter heart-burning among the Mussulmans and Orthodox. This is the country where the people, prince and peasant alike, actually preferred Islam to Catholicism at an earlier period. Nor is the bitterness allayed by the system of trade monopolies given to foreigners (nearly always German Catholics) and the openly avowed intention of permitting, if not encouraging, emigration so that German colonies may be planted on the soil. All this, added to the red-tapism of Austrian bureaucracy and the denial of the right of free speech, the press, and public assemblies, makes the lot of the Bosnian patriot a hard one indeed; and yet, if he has patience and can

control his people and keep them in the country, he may win in the long run. His is the unconquerable tenacity of the Slav, against which the Prussians and the Magyars alike are vainly contending. It used to be taken as a sort of epigrammatic truism that the twentieth century belongs to the Germans. So far, however, the Slavs have more than held their own.

The suggestion that triadism should supersede dualism as the basis of the monarchy supposes the erection of a third (Slav) State made up of Croatia, Slavonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Servia. Hungary might possibly support the project if the new State were to be part of the lands of St Stephen; but it is hard to see how Austria would profit by such a scheme. Moreover, the southern Slavs are not encouraged by the experience of Croatia; and Servia would resist to the death any such attempt—one which, indeed, Europe could hardly contemplate quietly. A more practicable scheme is that of reorganising the Dual Monarchy on a federal basis, in which it would be possible to recognise the national aspirations of each race. This scheme has one drawback in the fact that racial and geographical boundaries do not coincide; nevertheless it is a practical proposal, and as such is the greatest menace to the Magyars, who would lose through it their political ascendancy in the State. The views of the heir-apparent on these subjects are not clearly known; but he is above everything German and Ultramontane, and seemingly believes that by a policy of sitting on the safety-valve he can re-erect the Empire of Metternich. In foreign policy he and Baron Aehrenthal are evidently in favour of 'l'audace, toujours de l'audace.'

Austria-Hungary's true position in Europe is as the intermediary between Germany and Russia. Herself made up of mixed elements, she holds the balance between Teuton and Slav. The Emperor, Francis Joseph, in the last forty years has worked patiently to maintain the balance *within* his empire, which was the only sure foundation for securing its external safety. This policy seems to have been abandoned. The question is how far the internal strength of Austria-Hungary justifies her. The army, reorganised since 1866, is a splendid instrument, highly finished; but its racial composition is still as mixed as it was in 1820, 1840, and on other occasions

when, in Italy, Croatia, and Galicia, the effects of race feeling were found so disastrous. In the Italian campaigns of 1859 and 1866 there were desertions which seriously embarrassed the Austrian operations. Slavonic regiments could not be induced to serve in Croatia. In the Prussian campaign of 1866 large numbers allowed themselves to be captured without striking a blow; Italian regiments passed over to the enemy with bands playing; while the famous Hungarian legion of General Klapka was formed of deserters from the Austrian army. During the Prague riots in 1897, Czech troops refused to serve against their countrymen. Moreover, Magyar support has been secured only as part of the magyarising policy which will eventually disrupt the lands of St Stephen. It carries with it obligations which may be used as a lever to uproot the present basis of Dualism.

Austria-Hungary is playing a game in which apparent victory now may cost her dear in years to come. Does Germany intend to build up a strong and independent Austria-Hungary? Is she not, rather, interested in preserving the conflicting elements within that conglomerate state? What these conflicting elements are has been stated, in barest outline, in this article, space forbidding any reference to religious and social struggles which are waged irrespective of race. Three facts emerge from the tangle. The Habsburgs are irretrievably pledged to the Hohenzollern hegemony; the Magyars dig their own graves; and the Slavs, throughout Europe, are being goaded afresh into national consciousness.

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II. THE TURKISH EMPIRE.

1. *Further Correspondence respecting the Affairs of South-eastern Europe*. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of His Majesty, May 1908. (Cd. 4076.)
2. *The East End of Europe*. By Allen Upward. With a preface by the late Sir Edward Fitz-Gerald Law. London: Murray, 1908.
3. *La Questione Rumeliota e la Politica Italiana*. By G. Amadori-Virgilj. Vol. I. Bitonto: N. Garofalo, 1908.
4. *L'Europe et l'Empire Ottoman*. By René Pinon. Paris: Perrin, 1909.
5. *Der Erlöschende Halbmond: Türkische Enthüllungen*. By A. Ular and E. Insabato. Frankfurt-a.-M.: Rütten and Loening, 1909.
6. *The Near-Eastern Question (1481-1906)*. A Bibliography. By Voyslav M. Yovanovitch. Belgrade: Tzviyanovitch, 1909.

STUDENTS of Near-Eastern affairs will be grateful to M. Yovanovitch for the excellent compilation cited at the head of this article. A glance through its contents suffices to show the appalling amount of literary labour expended on the Eastern Question during the last four or five hundred years, the continuity of the problem, and its complexity. Nor is our bewilderment lessened by a perusal of the works which have seen the light since the last entry in M. Yovanovitch's bibliography.

We mention above a few of these fresh contributions to an endless discussion. They represent four different languages and at least as many different standpoints. They vary widely in their scope and value. M. René Pinon, for instance, is a fluent and graphic writer who seems to have gone for his information, not directly to the countries which he discusses, nor even to official reports, which, whatever their shortcomings may be, possess at all events the merit of being based on facts collected with care and set forth with impartiality, but to the books of other fluent and graphic writers like himself. This is a defect for which not all the graces of style can atone. Dithyrambs may make pleasant reading; they are a poor substitute for documents.

The German work which stands fifth on our list may be dismissed even more briefly. The authors appear to possess enough knowledge to make invention plausible. They gallop over the Ottoman Empire hotly and rashly, heedless of evidence, reckless in statement, their main concern apparently being to depict Great Britain as a demon of perfidy and as the Machiavellian instigator of multiform iniquity.

In 'La Questione Rumeliota' we have a writer of an entirely different order—a serious and painstaking investigator who, in the pursuit of truth, spares neither himself nor the reader. It is a pity that so much industry should be accompanied with so little selection and compression. For, as the work stands, few readers other than specialists can be expected to face the labour involved in its perusal. But those few will see cause to thank Signor Amadori-Virgili for a wealth of information as admirable in quality as it is formidable in quantity. Perhaps the chief merit of his work consists in the scientific spirit that pervades it from beginning to end. The writer attempts to throw light into the obscurer regions of the Balkan Peninsula, rightly seeking in the social and racial conditions of those regions for the key to the policy of the Powers, great and small, interested in their future. He perceives that nationality is the dominant factor in the whole problem, and he guards himself well against the peril, on the one hand, of confusing genuine racial issues with diplomatic intrigues, and, on the other, of mistaking ethnographical theories for national realities.

Speaking roughly, the European provinces of the Ottoman Empire are inhabited by five national elements. First, we have the ruling element—the Turkish. In point of blood, and even in point of speech, only a small proportion of this element can lay claim to the name 'Turk,' the major portion consisting of the descendants of native Christians—Slavs, Bulgars, or Greeks—who, yielding to terror or temptation, have since the Ottoman conquest embraced the creed of Islam. Yet, be their racial origin what it may, all these Mohammedan subjects of the Sultan are in sentiment what they are in name—Turks. The ethnographist and the linguist may class them as Mohammedan Serbs, Greeks, or Bulgars, if he

likes ; but this classification, even when it happens to be scientifically correct, would be of a purely theoretical value. Racial origin and language do not constitute nationality. The only thing that does count in political problems is national sentiment ; and national sentiment has more to do with historical than with ethnographical or linguistic evolution.

In addition to this Mohammedan element, which is scattered all over Turkey in Europe, there is the Albanian, geographically compact and ethnographically homogeneous, though in point of creed divided into Mohammedan, Orthodox Christian, and Roman Christian. Occupying the whole of the western side of the Balkan Peninsula, from Epirus to the Montenegrin frontier, the Albanians form a people distinguished from their neighbours in language, in physique, and in sentiment. There is good reason to believe that they are the lineal descendants of an old aboriginal population akin to the Hellenic on one side and to the Italian on the other—the population known to antiquity by the name of Illyrian. Owing to the mountainous character of their country, the Albanians have preserved intact their rugged manners and their ancient tribal system of government.

Tribalism, of course, means disunion and national weakness. Therefore the Albanians, despite their high intellectual gifts and their unrivalled valour, easily succumbed to the Turkish arms. By a temporary union under a war-chief, Skanderbeg, they contrived to withstand the conqueror for a time ; but immediately on Skanderbeg's death they abandoned all resistance. Yet, although Albania was conquered, she has never been subdued by the Turks. The Skipetar—an ethnic appellation which unites all the clans, irrespective of creed, into one national entity—have never acknowledged the Sultan's right to interfere with their tribal affairs, and have frustrated all attempts to impose conscription and systematic taxation upon them. In this state of semi-independence they have remained to this day ; and to their voluntary service the Ottoman Empire owes many of its successes both in peace and in war.

The Albanians are beyond question a nationality destined to play a most important part in the future history of the Balkan Peninsula. It is true that, so far,

they cannot be called a nation in the political sense of the term. All the tribes are of one race, and they have a common language and a common code of customs; but since the day of Skanderbeg they have never acted with a common purpose. On the other hand, the feeling of national identity is very strong among them. Even the most fanatical followers of the Prophet are Albanians in the first place and Mohammedans in the second. Already the clans of the south, among whom Greek culture has made great progress, are agitating for the assertion of the Albanian nationality and language; and there can be small doubt that, as education spreads, the national consciousness of the whole race, never extinguished, will assume a clearer and more definite expression.

In the immediate vicinity of the Albanian, and in perpetual enmity with it, stands the Servian element. In former days the Albanians were compelled by the advancing hosts to withdraw further and further west. But during the last hundred years or so—since the cessation of Turkey's military expansion has arrested the continuous drain upon the Albanian fighting clans—the hillmen have pushed the hated 'Scyths,' as they still call the Slavs, across the Drina, and are pressing eastwards with an impetus which not even the phenomenal fecundity of the Serbs can withstand. The field for this perennial struggle is supplied by the north-western parts of the vilayet of Kossovo, and more particularly by the district known as 'Old Servia.' A parallel conflict is going on in the north-eastern parts of the same vilayet between the Serbs and the Bulgars. The latter form there a compact majority; but it is seldom possible to draw the line clearly between them and their Servian neighbours. The dialect spoken by the peasantry of the disputed districts is a Slavonic *patois*, which, with some schooling, can be turned into Bulgarian or Servian indifferently. But, however difficult it may be, in these parts, to separate clearly the Servian from the Bulgarian element, there is no difficulty in ascertaining that the whole of the northern zone of the Peninsula, from the Albanian to the Bulgarian frontier, is Slavonic in language. Equally easy is it to define, as Hellenic, the corresponding zone on the south, from the coast of the Adriatic, along the coast of the Ægean, to the coast of

the Black Sea. In both zones there are scattered Mohamadan communities which call themselves Turkish.

The real chaos arises in the central regions of the Balkan Peninsula—the heart of the territory clumsily and loosely called ‘Macedonia.’ There we are confronted by an ethnographical and political puzzle, the intricacy of which grows only more confusing with the growth of our knowledge. If we omit the Albanians and the Pomaks—another remnant of an autochthonous population of unknown affinities, inhabiting the highlands of Mount Orbelus and surmised by some to be of Pæonian, by others of Thracian, origin—we have in this central zone—a belt beginning at Ochrida in the west and stretching to the Thracian frontier on the east, bounded by the towns of Strumnitza and Nevrokop on the north, by Vodena and Serres on the south—Greek, Serb, Bulgar, and Vlach intermingled in an inextricable racial tangle, the nature of which can best be understood by a glance back at the causes which have produced it.

In antiquity the inhabitants of this territory appear as a Helleno-barbaric people, an aggregate of tribes closely akin to, though not quite identical with, the Greeks of the south. But, whatever their peculiar characteristics may have been in ‘the dark backward and abysm of time,’ they had ceased to mark off the Macedonians from the other Greeks in very early days. During the great period of Hellenic colonisation, from the eighth century B.C. onwards, the coast of the Ægean was planted with numerous Greek settlements, offshoots of which pushed inland and found no difficulty in spreading their culture among the kindred tribes of the interior, whose royal family, for the rest, had always been recognised as of pure Greek blood. By degrees the whole southern portion of the peninsula became thoroughly Hellenic, while Hellenism obtained a firm footing in the central, and even penetrated into the northern parts. The ancient Macedonians, as we see them in historic times, were an essentially Greek people—no doubt, less refined than their brethren of the south, but no less Greek on that account than were the inhabitants of other backward parts of Greece—Ætolia, Acarnania, or Epirus. This character they retained during the Roman and the earlier Byzantine domination, though there is

reason to believe that the Latin tongue had, through the influence of military colonies, commerce, and administration, very largely ousted the Greek.

Things continued substantially in this state until the Slavonic and Bulgarian invasions at the beginning of the sixth century A.D. The older inundations of the Balkan Peninsula by the Goths under Alaric and the Huns under Attila were too transitory to leave any very deep traces behind them. It was otherwise with the Slavs and Bulgars. They invaded this part of southern Europe in vast hordes, and they were constantly reinforced by new-comers from across the Danube. The upshot was a triangular conflict between Serb, Bulgar, and Greek, in which none spared the others—a conflict which rendered Macedonia throughout the Middle Ages the scene of a drama of conquest and reconquest, with frequent episodes in the form of the rise and fall of Bulgarian and Servian Empires, and of the periodical reassertion of the Greek power, until all three combatants succumbed to the Turk.

In the course of this long drama the ethnographical character of Macedonia underwent profound modifications. The mountainous nature of the country precluded complete subjection and assimilation of any of the rival races by the rest. The rich plains were filled with Slavonic and Bulgarian settlements, which compelled many of the native inhabitants to seek safety in the fortified towns or freedom in the solitude of the mountains; while those who remained in the lowlands were mixed with the foreign settlers. Thus there was formed in Macedonia a population which to this day preserves in its physical type and in its speech the mark of its hybrid origin, the Slavonic and Bulgarian features being most pronounced in the northern parts, less so in the central, and by degrees merging into the Hellenic of the south. But these broad divisions are crossed and recrossed by an infinite number of minor lines. In some parts of the country one element preponderates, in others another; and in many districts two or three exist side by side.

How is the disentanglement to be effected? A serious comparative study of the folk-lore of these regions is sufficient to show how hard it is to determine the degrees and the ways in which the various elements have acted

and reacted upon each other. Features of Greek popular belief and custom which at first sight appear to be the fruit of Slavonic influence, turn out on investigation to be the result of Hellenic influence upon Slavonic belief and custom. In the case of some institutions and usages common to all European paganism, it can easily be proved that Greek influence spread the Greek form, together with Greek Christianity, among the Slavs, supplanting or modifying the original Slavonic form. In the case of other institutions and customs, the Slavs have derived them wholly from the Greeks—even the names by which they are known being either literal translations or candid transliterations from the Greek. On the other hand, there are in modern Greek culture elements which can be traced to a Slavonic origin, or whose forms, at all events, have undergone a Slavonic influence. But how much of this influence is due to mixture of races and how much to causes of cultural development and social environment, is a question that he will answer most confidently who knows least. Where all is so dark it is easy to dogmatise; it is easier still to go wrong.

The study of language is as inconclusive as is the study of custom. Even in the northern parts the student finds the Slavonic containing a number of Greek words and phrases. As he moves towards the south these words and phrases become more and more numerous. Generally speaking, in central Macedonia, the languages, like the races, have remained through the ages in a state of imperfect fusion; the Slavs and Slavonic-speaking Bulgars occupying the open country as tillers of the soil, the Greeks, for the most part, concentrated in the seats of commercial, manufacturing and intellectual activity. A striking illustration of these conditions is offered by the district of Melenik. The names of cereals and of agricultural implements there are mostly Slavonic, while all words referring to the pursuits of urban life are Greek. In the town of Demir-Hissar, again, out of a population of 4000 only about 1000 are pure Greeks, the rest being Turks and Bulgars. Yet the Greek language is spoken there more largely than the Turkish or the Bulgarian. Contrariwise, many Bulgarian-speaking peasants persist in regarding themselves as Greeks, declaring that they adopted the language of their neighbours because their

neighbours were too stupid to adopt theirs. The one unquestionable result that close attention to the tangle yields is the conviction that, until there is carried out a minute and scientific enquiry into the past history and the actual conditions of each district—often of each village—accompanied by a rigid analysis, it is impossible to disentangle the various strands in the web of the ethnographical problem which central Macedonia presents, or to assign to each constituent of a most composite population its own peculiar contribution. In the absence of such an enquiry, the only thing that can be said with absolute certainty is that this zone contains a blend of bloods and tongues due to different conquests and settlements, and to various migratory movements from prehistoric times to the present day.

Not the least interesting constituent of this chaotic population is the Vlachian—an element which the Roumanians now claim as their own. Few races have given rise to so much acrimonious controversy, or to so much effusion of innocent ink, as the Kutzo-Vlachs; and of few, after years of discussion, is so little clearly established. Like the Pelasgians and Phœnicians of antiquity, or the Celts and Teutons of modern times, they have served as a peg upon which to hang all sorts of speculations; and, whenever an inconvenient circumstance has turned up to derange the symmetry of a theory, it has been safe to call them 'Thracian' and pass on. This was inevitable, for history has been considerate enough to leave the matter in that dim twilight which delights the dealer in conjectures. All that history has to tell us about the Kutzo-Vlachs is that, at some time in the eleventh century, they dominated the mountains round the great plain of Thessaly, and that they were making their presence felt on the Balkan highlands. At the present day they are found scattered over the mountain ranges from Pindus to Shar Dagh in one direction, from Olympus to Rhodope in the other. They live partly as nomad shepherds, partly as settled communities, both in Epirus and in Macedonia; the largest of these settlements being in the town and district of Monastir, where it constitutes the most enterprising, most intelligent, and most highly civilised section of the population.

As regards their origin, the most probable hypothesis

is that the Kutzo-Vlachs of Macedonia, Thessaly, and Epirus, taken as a whole, are—with, no doubt, some admixture of Latin blood, due to Roman military colonies—the descendants of the native inhabitants who, fleeing before the advancing waves of Slavs and Bulgars, took refuge in the highlands, and there not only developed their nomad characteristics, but also preserved the Latin idiom, which had established itself over the less advanced parts of the Balkan Peninsula during the seven centuries of Roman and early Byzantine domination. In any case, whatever these people may be, they are certainly not Roumanians. They call themselves Arman; the Roumanians call themselves Roumoun. Both appellations mean simply 'Roman'; for by that name every citizen of the Byzantine Empire, including the Greek, called himself. The Vlach dialect—leaving out of it the enormous Greek element which may be due to direct Greek influence—differs from the Roumanian as widely as French differs from Italian or Dutch from Danish. As regards temperament and pursuits, they are wanderers, traders, versatile, enterprising—distinctly non-agricultural. The Roumanians are the exact opposite—an agricultural, unenterprising population, rooted to the soil and averse from travel and trade alike. Lastly, the folk-songs, the traditions, the proverbs, the social and religious customs of the Kutzo-Vlachs are thoroughly Greek. They preserve not the faintest memory of having ever had any connexion with their would-be 'brethren' across the Danube, but have completely identified themselves with the Hellenic national sentiment; and many of them have also adapted the Hellenic language, while others have remained bi-lingual, employing their own *patois* for domestic purposes, but using Greek as the language of culture, religion, and commerce. So whole-hearted has this identification with the Greeks been that the Greek cause has no more enthusiastic partisans in Macedonia than the Kutzo-Vlachs.

The same discrepancy between hypothetical race origin and practical national consciousness is to be found among the majority of the Slavonic-speaking inhabitants of central and southern Macedonia. As already observed, before the Turkish conquest all the Christian elements in that country waged a ruthless warfare against each

other. The Ottoman conquest brought with it compulsory reconciliation and the recognition of Greek spiritual and intellectual ascendancy. The Hellenic was the only element possessing a civilisation of the higher type; and for centuries its absorptive power upon contiguous peoples less richly endowed than itself proved well-nigh irresistible. Orthodoxy was identified by all the Christian *rayahs* with Hellenism. To be an orthodox Christian was to be a Greek. Greek became the language of the upper classes even among the pure Bulgars of Bulgaria; the vernacular itself was written in Greek characters. Every Slav and Bulgar was proud to call himself a Greek—a term which came to be a synonym for culture, while the term 'Bulgar' became a synonym for rusticity. This brotherhood of the *rayahs* under Hellenic hegemony began to be undermined systematically by Russian diplomacy about 1830; and the work of disruption has been successful in the northern parts where Greek influence was weakest. But it has had comparatively small effect upon the central and southern districts of Macedonia. Hence these districts continue to supply a field for an inter-racial struggle which in its ferocity recalls the days when the hordes of Tsar Samuel and the armies of the Emperor Basil vied with each other in exploits of unmentionable horror.

Bulgarian, Servian, and Roumanian propagandas are pitted against the Greek; and two of the works cited at the head of this paper present to us a melancholy picture of the extremes to which each party is ready to go in order to bring about the assimilation or extermination of its opponents. Mr Allen Upward, in a narrative which amply deserves the commendation of truthfulness bestowed upon it by the late Sir Edward Law, gives a vivid description of the disastrous consequences of this feud. The latest Blue-book issued by the Foreign Office furnishes us with fresh details and documents, the authenticity of which cannot be disputed. The whole story can be summed up in a single sentence. The Bulgarian propaganda, finding itself powerless to compete with the Greek by the peaceful means of education, adopted in 1897 a system of unscrupulous terrorism which forced the Greeks and the Serbs to organise, in 1904, a similar movement in self-defence. The Roumanian

propaganda, not to be outdone in energy, imitated these tactics; but, in the absence of a Roumanian population, it was compelled to seek for organs of violence mostly among the Bulgarian Komitadjis, whose bands provided the politicians of Bucharest with ready-made mercenaries, versed, through a long and varied experience, in all the practices of murder and robbery. The want of success which attended the Roumanian campaign for political proselytism has been equal to the want of scruple displayed by its promoters; and both these characteristics are well illustrated by the reports of the British consular authorities, which declare that the Roumanian movement in Macedonia 'is quite a factitious one, the Vlachs of that region being, with very few exceptions, Greek in sympathy.'*

A reference to the same illuminating reports suffices to give a faint idea of the infernal condition into which Macedonia was plunged, primarily by the Bulgarian champions of a big Bulgaria, and subsequently by the retaliation which their action made inevitable.

This sanguinary struggle for supremacy was arrested only last July by the proclamation of the Turkish Constitution. The Young Turks appealed to the rival Christian forces to co-operate with them in their efforts to pacify and regenerate the Empire. The Greeks and the Serbs, whose object in taking up arms was not conquest but self-preservation, readily responded to the appeal. The Bulgars, after some hesitation, came to the conclusion that the best policy for them would be to follow suit. There are, however, abundant signs to show that the reconciliation constitutes a mere truce, the duration of which depends entirely on the ultimate success or failure of the Constitutional régime. Himli Pasha has recently stated that there is a recrudescence of activity on the part of the bands in Macedonia. From other trustworthy reports it would seem that the Turkish Minister's statement errs not on the side of exaggeration. On the contrary, all the available evidence goes to show that the Bulgarian propaganda, although forced to modify its methods, has not abandoned its aims. Cases

* 'Further Correspondence respecting the Affairs of South-eastern Europe' (Cd 4076), incl. 1 in No. 86.

of open violence are now comparatively rare; but the efforts for the forcible conversion of the Grecophil and Servophil peasants to the Bulgarian cause have lost none of their vigour. In many villages riots have occurred as the result of attempts made by the Exarchist dissenters to seize the Patriarchist churches and schools; and the authorities have been obliged, for the sake of peace, to close the communal institutions pending a decision as to the rightful owners. In several districts communities, or sections of communities, which, terrorised formerly into apostasy, availed themselves of the proclamation of liberty in order to return to their allegiance to the Patriarch, have been forcibly prevented from doing so by the Bulgarian committees. From every part of the country there is news to the effect that the Bulgarian bands exercise a virtual dictatorship, distributing arms among their partisans, drilling recruits, levying blackmail, and now and then condemning recalcitrant peasants to death.

The declaration of Bulgarian independence, the assumption by Prince Ferdinand of the title of 'Tsar,' the recent mobilisation of the Bulgarian army, and, generally, the defiance of the Ottoman Government by the Principality, have produced their inevitable impression both upon the Bulgars of Macedonia and upon the Turkish authorities. Simple villagers now venture to appear before the Sultan's governors and to threaten that, if their demands are not immediately granted, they will appeal to 'other quarters.' The authorities, actuated partly by fear of the armed bands and partly by the desire to conciliate the turbulent Bulgars, connive at proceedings which they dare not check.

In brief, all the forces which led to the anarchy that devastated Macedonia from 1900 to 1908 are once more at work; and there is good reason to apprehend that, unless the new régime succeeds in giving to the inhabitants the protection from Bulgarian terrorism which the old régime denied them, the country will witness a repetition of the inter-racial warfare. True, both the Greeks and the Serbs have until now remained quiescent; but, as the past has shown, there are limits to their patience, and experience has taught them that retaliation can succeed where every other law has failed.

(From this examination of the national composition of

the Balkan Peninsula it becomes clear that the problem which has for so many centuries confronted the Turkish Empire and the European Powers is not yet solved. Three of those Powers—Russia, Austria, and Italy—have in the past played an active part in the evolution of the problem. Russia, by promoting the independence of the Bulgars, Austria by endeavouring to establish her influence over the Serbs and the northern Albanians, and Italy by interfering among the southern Albanians, have done at least as much as Turkish maladministration to imperil the solidarity of the Ottoman Empire. This activity on the part of Turkey's powerful neighbours has ceased since the proclamation of the Turkish Constitution. For the moment Russia, Austria, and Italy appear inclined to maintain towards new Turkey an attitude of benevolent neutrality. Russia, owing to the domestic dangers and difficulties which have been accentuated by her disasters in the Far East, is anxious to avert, almost at any cost, complications in the Near East. Italy's rôle in the Balkan tragedy has always been of a subsidiary character; and its resumption or abandonment must depend on the future conduct of her rivals. Austria, on the other hand, through her recent action, seems inclined to profit by Russia's impotence. That Power has long been credited by competent observers with the ambition of ultimately reaching the *Ægean* by a descent on Salonica. The occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina thirty years ago, and the formal annexation of those provinces the other day, are interpreted, not without reason, as being the first steps towards that goal.

It is true that circumstances have hitherto compelled Austria to defer her advance. The surrender of the sandjak of Novi Bazar back to Turkey—although dictated in all probability by mere considerations of strategic expediency—may be regarded as another proof of postponement of the execution of Austria's designs. Meanwhile, Austria's recent action has brought into being another danger, indirect but none the less serious. The Serbs, definitely cut off from the Adriatic, by the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and denied that outlet which is indispensable for their State's emancipation from commercial and political tutelage to the Dual Monarchy, can hardly be expected to abandon for good

their efforts at expansion towards the *Ægean*—the principal cause of their propaganda in Macedonia. But perhaps the chief peril to the peace of the Turkish Empire will be in the future, as it has been for so many years in the past, the ambition of Bulgaria to realise the grandiose dream outlined by the Treaty of San Stefano and frustrated by the Treaty of Berlin. The Bulgarian dream, by provoking opposition elsewhere, was responsible for the precarious condition of Macedonia until a few months ago, and may prove the source of similar trouble a few months hence.

These dangers can only be averted by the timely adoption, by the Turkish Government, of measures consonant with the promises which earned for the Young Turks last July the goodwill of their Greek and Servian fellow-countrymen and the admiration of the outside world. Hitherto little or nothing has been done to fulfil those promises. The administration of the provinces continues, perhaps unavoidably, in the hands of the old officials, who, by taking the oath to the Constitution, seem to have simply perpetuated their own opportunities for oppression and extortion. Besides, the Christians complain that even among the genuine opponents of the old régime there are men inclined to give somewhat sinister interpretation to the motto of 'equality and fraternity.' It is pointed out that, with a few notable exceptions, the Young Turks act as though their aim was to bring about this equality and fraternity by the assimilation of all the heterogeneous elements into one Ottoman nationality. If this policy is persisted in, the days of the Ottoman Constitution may be regarded as numbered. The regeneration of the Ottoman Empire cannot be brought about by the Turks alone. The latter possess in plentiful measure the military means required for the conquest of freedom, but they are remarkably poor in the resources needed for its consolidation. This can only be effected by the loyal co-operation of the more advanced communities; and the co-operation of those communities can only be secured on condition that their national rights are respected.

Among the Mohammedans themselves we have, in addition to the Turks, two other nationalities, at least, extremely jealous of their institutions and privileges:

the Arabs in Asia and the Albanians in Europe. Both these elements resent bitterly the Ottomanist tendencies of their Turkish co-religionists. The Arabs have on more than one occasion protested against the use of Turkish as the official language in Parliament and the Porte. The Albanians have made it quite clear that in future they will insist on having the Albanian tongue recognised as the medium of instruction in the Albanian schools. And both these Mohammedan nationalities, in their struggle for self-preservation, can count on the support of the Christian nationalities—Greeks, Slavs, and Bulgars in Europe, Armenians in Asia. It is hardly necessary to add that of these Christian elements the Greek is incomparably the most important, both on account of its numbers and by virtue of its intellectual and commercial superiority—an importance demonstrated by the fact that out of the fifty Christian deputies in the Turkish Chamber twenty-five are Greeks; and that, too, despite all the means, some of them of a highly questionable nature, resorted to by the Young Turks during the elections in order to secure the return of their own co-religionists. It would be a most impolitic step to alienate permanently from the Constitution the sympathies of so powerful an ally. The same remark applies to the other elements in proportion to their relative strength. The recent rupture between the Liberal Union—which embraces nearly all the non-Turkish representatives in the Ottoman Parliament—and the Committee of Union and Progress, which stands for Turkish supremacy, is an event the ominous significance of which can be ignored neither by the friends nor by the enemies of Young Turkey.

Old Turkey always maintained towards the rival nationalities, of which the population of the empire is made up, the attitude of a passive onlooker. Their internecine struggle did not seem to concern it directly. Its traditional policy was to foster that rivalry and to rule by dividing. Young Turkey has inaugurated a new policy—a policy of unification of all the heterogeneous elements into one people. But this policy may defeat its own object by being pushed to excess. What nature has divided man cannot unite. It is inconceivable that the Greeks, for example, will ever consent to exchange their language—the language of Homer and Plato, the language

upon the study of which still rests all culture throughout the civilised world—for the language of Djevdet Pasha or Kemal Bey. All that the Turkish patriots can reasonably hope to achieve is to conciliate the non-Turkish nationalities by practical proofs that their welfare is bound up with the welfare of the Empire.

A policy of moderation would have been the most prudent policy even if national diversity were tempered by religious and social uniformity, and even if the geographical position of Turkey rendered it invulnerable to outside influences. As it is, the chasm which divides the Christian from the Mohammedan can only be bridged over by a genuine conviction on both sides that each is indispensable to the prosperity of the other; for it is a chasm that cannot entirely disappear, so long as civil and social institutions continue to have creed for their basis. Again, the mere fact that Turkey in Europe is surrounded by free States, each of which is represented by a kindred population within the Empire, renders the conciliation of those populations imperative. The uncertainty which still prevails in Macedonia serves to keep alive Bulgarian ambition; the regrettable nationalist programme adopted by the Committee of Union and Progress serves to keep alive the distrust of the non-Turkish populations; and, lastly, the enthusiasm with which the Greeks at first welcomed what they considered as the opening of an era of security and progress has lost much of its fervour, owing partly to the failure of the new rulers of Turkey to remove the old causes of unrest from Macedonia, and partly to the resentment aroused among the Turks by the action of the Cretans.

Crete had for generations supplied a perennial source of bitterness between Greek and Turk. Maladministration had repeatedly goaded the islanders to rebellion; and their efforts at emancipation had always met with warm sympathy and support among their kinsmen of the Greek kingdom. In fact, the economic troubles of Greece during the last half-century owe their origin mainly to the Cretan question. The first foreign loan contracted by the Hellenic Government had for its object the succour of the distressed Cretans; and the same demand has continued to form a regular drain on the Hellenic treasury. Ten years ago the Powers intervened,

and took the first step towards the union of Crete with Greece, by placing the island under a Greek governor and an autonomous administration. The Cretans regarded this emancipation as only a partial fulfilment of their ultimate aspirations, and never ceased to petition for fusion with the mother-country. The Powers yielded so far as to grant to King George the right of nominating the governor of the island, and to allow a portion of the local militia to be placed under the command of Hellenic officers, intimating at the same time their decision to withdraw their own troops within a given period.

Turkey herself, by treating Cretan imports on the same footing as foreign imports, has implicitly acknowledged that Crete has ceased to be part of the Ottoman Empire. The only vestige of Ottoman domination left in the island is a solitary Turkish flag floating idly from a rock off the coast. The annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria, and the declaration of Bulgarian independence, however, have suggested to the Cretans that the moment has come for them also to take the final step towards complete independence by joining Greece. The Hellenic Government has hitherto abstained from sanctioning this step, in order not to add a fresh embarrassment to those which already hamper the Porte and the Powers. The former has protested against the Cretan action ; the latter have not repudiated it. On the contrary, their consuls appear to have tacitly recognised the accomplished fact, by dealing with the new Government established in the island as they did with its predecessor. The withdrawal of the international troops is due to be completed next July. Meanwhile Crete, by the grace of God and the will of its inhabitants, constitutes virtually part of the Hellenic kingdom, King George only awaiting the formal consent of the Powers to take full possession of the new province.

The Cretan problem might thus be considered as finally solved, were it not for the dissatisfaction evinced by the Young Turks of Constantinople, and the small Mohammedan minority in Crete. Out of the 300,000 inhabitants of the island, 30,000 are adherents of Islam ; and, though as thoroughly Greek in race and language as the rest of the Cretans, they show a natural preference for Mohammedan over Christian rule. Material griev-

ances they have none. Since the emancipation of the island from the Sultan's rule, they have enjoyed all the rights and privileges of free citizens in perfect equality with their Christian fellow-countrymen. But it is not easy for men to reconcile themselves to equality where they have been accustomed to supremacy; and the sentimental discontent of this Mohammedan minority has furnished their co-religionists in Turkey with a lever for an agitation which has done much to nip the budding Greco-Turkish friendship. The matter, however, has long been taken out of the hands of Greeks and Turks alike; and there is no doubt that the Powers will, sooner or later, legalise the solution for which they have paved the way. When this secular cause of friction between Greek and Turk is removed, it may be hoped that the two elements will perceive that a cordial understanding is essential for their common safety.

To sum up—whatever the future policy of the Great Powers may be—the smaller States (Bulgaria, Servia, Greece, and Roumania), even in the absence of internal discontent and external ambition, are bound, by the very nature of things, to act as centrifugal forces for the Bulgars, Serbs, Greeks and Vlachs of the Balkan Peninsula. Those forces cannot be counteracted save by the establishment of conditions calculated to persuade the different parties concerned that they have more to gain by maintaining the integrity of the Ottoman Empire than by furthering its dissolution. The first requisite towards the establishment of such conditions is an energetic affirmation on the part of the Turkish Government of its power to protect each element from aggression by the others, the removal of administrative abuses, and, in one word, a practical demonstration that it is no longer necessary or permissible for the various races to adopt towards each other the attitude of armed combatants. Pending the realisation of this ideal, the Near-Eastern Question must remain—a question.

G. F. ABBOTT.

Art. 16.—LORD MORLEY AND INDIAN REFORM.

1. *An Act to amend the Indian Councils Acts, 1861 and 1892, and the Government of India Act, 1833.* Ordered by the House of Lords to be printed, February 17, 1909.
2. *Speeches by Lord Morley of Blackburn, Lord Lansdowne, Lord Curzon of Kedleston, and others.* House of Lords, February 23, 1909.

LORD MORLEY'S Indian reforms have aroused much criticism and some apprehension, but upon one point there has been complete unanimity, and that is that some measure of reform was wanted, and wanted urgently. 'The general question of the expediency of reforms,' as so competent a critic as the special correspondent of the 'Times' declared, 'has practically passed out of the region of controversy.' The second reading of the Indian Councils Bill by the House of Lords was the official confirmation of that view. Indeed the debates of February 23 and 24 will constitute an era in Indian history; they mark the close of one epoch and the opening of another. The doctrine that all the Indian Government had to do was to provide the people with an efficient administration was definitely abandoned; and, in its place, we have the new policy, which, without disregarding efficiency, recognises that the contentment of the people is a legitimate object of official solicitude. The last decade of Indian history has sufficiently demonstrated that, desirable as is an efficient administration, it may be bought too dear; if an efficient administration can only be secured at the cost of alienating the people from British Government, it is not worth the price that is being paid for it.

That such alienation was taking place it is no longer possible to dispute. The Indian press has been growing shriller year by year; Indian politicians have denounced the Government in tones of increasing acerbity; and latterly a party has emerged which plainly demands that the tie which binds India to England should be severed, if need be, by force. This is a new and ominous change. Until a comparatively short time ago the educated classes of India, though not effusive in protestations of loyalty, were at heart fundamentally convinced

of the beneficence of the British Raj, and accepted the consequences of this conviction. A striking testimony to this fact has recently come from an unexpected quarter. Mr Bipin Chandra Pal writes in his new paper, 'Svaraj,' as follows :

'I was loyal to the British Government in India twenty years ago, simply because the British Government in India at that time stood to me for a concrete and objective symbol, and a necessary instrument for the realisation of my highest civic and social ideal. . . . And I did not stand alone in my loyalty to the British Government in those days. Almost the entire body of my English educated countrymen more or less shared those sentiments in those days. There was, twenty years ago, absolutely no conflict between the highest patriotism and the profoundest loyalty to the Government.'

Nor was this view peculiar to educated Bengalis ; all the upper classes were permeated with the conviction that Government intended steadily to advance Indians to positions of greater importance and greater responsibility as they demonstrated their fitness to hold them. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, the founder of the modern school of Muhammadan politics, persuaded his people loyally to accept the English supremacy on this very ground :

'The time is coming' (he said at Lucknow in 1887) 'when my brothers, Pathans, Syeds, Hashimi and Koreishi, whose blood smells of the blood of Abraham, will appear in glittering uniforms as Colonels and Majors in the army. But we must wait for that time. Government will most certainly attend to it, provided that you do not give rise to suspicions of disloyalty.'

It is useless to deny that of late this confidence in the beneficent intentions of Government has been impaired. There may be no justification for this withdrawal of confidence ; but, however unreasonable it may be, statesmen have to take it into account. It is the fruitful soil in which the seeds of unrest have been able to germinate. The victories of Japan, the propaganda of a political party, the partition of Bengal, a vicious system of education, and the license of an ill-informed press—every one of these may be credited with some share of the unrest ; but behind all these auxiliary causes lies an

uneasy suspicion that England has come to a stop in her liberalising mission in India. It is no reply to say that these views are held only by the educated classes, and that the educated classes are an insignificant minority of the people of India. That is true, but it is not the whole truth, for there are no other opinions to set in the balance against these. The great bulk of the people have not begun to think of politics at all; in some vague, inarticulate way they presumably want good government and light taxation, as they want rain in due season; but they have no more conceived the possibility of influencing the Government than of regulating the monsoon. The old-fashioned orthodoxy of the Pandits and the Maulvis is, it may be conceded, entirely opposed to the new-fangled ideas of European origin; but it has never been able to formulate an alternative policy. It offers no resistance to the stream of Western thought before which its authority is crumbling away; and, in the absence of any formulated alternative, the new school of thought reigns supreme. Ideas can only be combated by ideas; and it is the absence of an energetic loyalty, rather than the presence of disloyalty, which constitutes the seriousness of the situation. If the present process goes on unchecked, the infection of the masses is only a question of time. Does anybody contend that we should do nothing until that process has been completed? that we should pay no regard to discontent until all India is discontented?

Here is a malady which the panacea of efficient administration is clearly incapable of curing; and, when Lord Morley took charge of the India Office, the situation was undeniably serious. Let there be no misunderstanding; though the situation was in one sense serious, there was never the smallest danger that the Government would be overthrown or even put into temporary difficulties. An organised rising was never within the bounds of possibility; even could a rising have taken place, it would have been crushed immediately and with ease. The people are practically without arms; they have no leaders who can call up the masses. So long as the Indian army remains loyal, the elements of a successful rising against British authority do not exist. If it were the wish of English statesmen to retain possession of India

in defiance of the people's feelings, nothing has occurred in the last decade to show that she could not be so held indefinitely. But these are not the terms on which England wishes to retain possession of India; the permanent estrangement of the people would be a disaster which would indicate the bankruptcy of British statesmanship. The task which the Viceroy and the Secretary of State have set before themselves is to convince the better mind of India that England has no intention of abandoning the ideal of the Queen's Proclamation, and that she will pursue unfalteringly the policy of gradually extending the liberties of the Indian people as they demonstrate their capacity to use them rightly.

It is only the better mind of India that they are attempting to convince. For the men who preach sedition and inflame the minds of anæmic and hysterical youths, we are glad to see that there is to be no misplaced leniency. The whole country will support Lord Morley in his decision to arm the Indian Government with more efficient means of dealing with these offenders than the previously existing law provided. There is no doubt that these repressive measures have had a steadying influence upon Indian opinion, and have helped to strengthen the hands of the Moderates. Popular politics are of such recent growth in India that for some time to come it will probably be necessary for the Government to define with unmistakable precision the limits between constitutional liberty and seditious license. Even when the recent ferment shall have subsided, it is doubtful whether it will be expedient to permit the propagation of revolutionary opinions to proceed unchecked. As we are not prepared to allow the people to learn their lessons in constitutional liberty through the experience of disorder, we must provide substitutes for the natural remedy; and the most merciful substitutes are legal prohibitions enforced by deterrent punishments.

But the suppression of sedition, though a very serious administrative question, is still a matter of administration only; it is not the central problem in the political situation. The central problem is how to recapture the confidence of the sober-minded majority of the educated classes. Ten years ago changes far less drastic than Lord Morley has proposed would probably have been

sufficient; but the old tale of the Sibylline books is retold in every age, and the Indian Government must now buy a less complete confidence, a more reserved loyalty, at a greater cost.

Lord Morley's proposals for reform fall naturally under two main heads. On the one hand, he has decided to appoint Indians to certain high offices which have hitherto been held exclusively by Englishmen, and, on the other, he proposes to place the Indian legislatures under a certain degree of popular control. It appears to us that there has been in this country a serious misapprehension as to the relative importance of these two classes of change. The public has been needlessly apprehensive of the first, and has accepted the second with surprising unconcern. The appointment of Indians to posts hitherto held by Englishmen will leave the autocracy of the Indian Government absolutely unimpaired, whereas the second is a constitutional experiment of which the result is wrapped in obscurity; it is the first step down that slippery slope at the bottom of which lies a parliamentary government for India. Lord Morley may have no ambition to descend that dangerous incline; but he has certainly started the Indian administration upon a career which it will be hard to arrest until the parliamentary bottom is reached.

In countries in which the social conditions are unlike those of England, the attempt to reproduce English parliamentary institutions has often been attended with such sinister results that all experiments of this kind in India must excite some degree of apprehension.

The particular proposal which has been most criticised is the appointment of an Indian gentleman to the Viceroy's executive Council. The importance of that appointment is unquestionable. The Viceroy's Council is the mainspring of Indian government; it is the keystone of the arch, the very heart of the administrative organism; it is a Cabinet of eight members, entrusted by statute with collective responsibility. Every member of the Council has a right to see all the papers and to give a vote upon all questions of policy. The Commander-in-Chief, as Lord Curzon remarked, gives a vote upon an educational question; and the vote of the legal member

may decide whether a campaign is to be undertaken or not. Nobody can deny that, by recommending the King to appoint an Indian, Lord Morley has given a cogent proof that neither race nor creed is a bar to the highest appointment in India. The promises made in 1833 and 1858 have now been fully and unequivocally redeemed. An Indian has been found who is believed to be fully qualified for the highest appointment; and the British Government has not hesitated to bring him into the innermost recesses of the official sanctuary, to make known to him all the secrets of the State, and to place him at the head of a whole hierarchy of Englishmen. As Indian politicians have exultingly exclaimed, 'this appointment removes from us the brand of inferiority.'

This auspicious example of how the word of England is kept is in itself an asset of inestimable value, for the sake of which it would be worth incurring some risks. But are there really any risks in this case? On the question of professional competence there is certainly no ground for apprehension. One or two Indians at the Calcutta Bar are believed to be making from 13,000*l.* to 16,000*l.* a year; it will be difficult to persuade unprejudiced persons that such men are not as good lawyers as an Englishman who is making little more than one-tenth of that sum in London. The English merchants of Calcutta who place their interests in the hands of such an Indian are the best witnesses to his professional capacity. But, it is said, the Indian will not have that quality of statesmanship which in such a position is even more important than legal acumen. If Indians were everywhere excluded from the conduct of great affairs, this assertion, though inconclusive, would be hard to disprove; but, as a matter of fact, some Indian ministers of native States have given such abundant proof of the possession of statesmanlike qualities, that it is impossible to convict them of a racial incapacity for statesmanship.

The insinuation that an Indian on the Viceroy's Council would betray State secrets, or would be subject to social pressure, is conclusively rebutted by experience. Indians in all parts of the country are, as judges of the High Court or as commissioners and collectors in the Civil Service, entrusted with functions that demand in the highest degree integrity of character; and it has

never been suggested that, as a class, they have shown themselves unworthy of the confidence reposed in them. Still less is there any ground for fearing that an Indian member will fail to accept the policy of the Government. From all over the world we have experience that, when a man is admitted to an Administration or a Cabinet or a Board, he promptly identifies himself with his new colleagues; he becomes a staunch defender of the actions for which he shares the collective responsibility. As the majority of Indians have a traditional inclination to strong government, it would not be at all surprising to find in the new member a vigorous champion of autocracy.

But it is useless to refute these and similar objections to the appointment of an Indian *seriatim*, for they are only the outposts which cover the central position. The one really serious objection to the appointment is that it will impair the prestige of racial superiority. As a writer in the 'World' (March 9) put it :

'Above all, the homogeneity of British counsels in India would be destroyed, and the true practical argument for our position there—our traditional and just claim to unmatched administrative efficiency—would disappear. In a word, the keystone of the whole arch of our dominions in the East is at present a solid thing; and Lord Morley proposes to make the keystone composite.'

The metaphor is ingenious, but totally misleading. The stability of empires is not determined solely by the strength of the materials of which they are composed, but by an equation between that strength and the forces which are arrayed against them. We should be glad to bring into prominence the one aspect of British rule which would array all Indians against it. Indians are ready to accept British government because it is the only possible government at present, or because they believe it a divinely appointed instrument for raising them to a higher plane, or, most willingly of all, because it is the government authorised by the King-Emperor; but the one claim to their obedience which they will unite to repudiate is our claim of racial superiority. Does anybody suppose that the Indian can accept the position of a subject race with satisfaction, or that he will acquiesce

in a domination which is avowedly based upon his inferiority?

The very formulation of such a claim is a challenge to disprove it; it evokes the one serious danger by which the Raj could be threatened. It is by surrendering and not by insisting upon the hateful privileges of a dominant race that empires are retained; that is the one unambiguous lesson to be learned from the history of the Moghul Empire. When Akbar took Man Singh with him to restore order in Kabul, we can imagine that his Muhammadan advisers plied him with weighty arguments against the danger to Muhammadan prestige which would be entailed by allowing a Hindu general to overcome members of the dominant race. But we can all see now that it was Akbar, and not his bigoted advisers, who was wise as well as generous. It was Akbar's policy of trusting well-qualified Hindus which laid the foundations of the Moghul Empire broad and deep; and it was the reassertion of the pretensions of a dominant religion by Aurangzeb which loosened them again. But, offensive as are the pretensions of a dominant religion, they are not so insulting as the pretensions of a dominant race. Even under Aurangzeb the Hindu could rise to an equality with his masters by a change of religion; to satisfy the bigots of our day he must change his skin. It is generally hard to establish the wisdom of generosity in a series of syllogisms; but Lord Morley should have no difficulty in defending his adoption of Akbar's policy.

There is one criticism still to notice, of which the validity must be admitted. The impartiality of the new member, if a Hindu, will be called in question by the Muhammadans, and, if a Muhammadan, by the Hindus. It cannot be denied that this is some deduction from the advantages of the appointment; but it cannot be held to outweigh them. It is an objection which can be urged with great force against the appointment of any Indian to the charge of a district or division; but it has never been held to be an insuperable objection to the admission of Indians to the Civil Service. In view, however, of the serious apprehensions aroused, we think that the appointment should not be held in succession by two members of the same community.

The other branch of the reform scheme deals with

Legislative Councils, and is directed towards assigning a greater influence to Indians in the making of laws. The power of making laws for the whole of India is vested in the Governor-General (or Viceroy), assisted by a Legislative Council; and the power of making laws (upon certain subjects) for a particular province is vested in the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor, assisted by a provincial Legislative Council. On all these councils a majority of the members has hitherto consisted of officials, who are bound to vote in favour of the official policy. The Government, therefore, whether of all India or of the provinces, has always been able to carry any measure which it has introduced; and certain measures in recent years, such as the Bill to reform the Indian Universities, or the Bill to prevent the alienation of land to money-lenders in the Panjab, have been passed in the teeth of strong opposition, within and without the Council. Lord Morley proposes to enlarge the Legislative Council of the Viceroy, but to retain on it the official majority. The Provincial Councils are likewise to be enlarged, but on them the official majority will not be retained.

This is one of the most substantial extensions of popular government in the whole scheme of reforms; it is, as Lord Cromer said, a legislative experiment which had to be tried, but it is difficult to feel much confidence in the result of the experiment. Lord Morley himself has frankly faced the objections which may be raised.

'I do not' (he wrote in his dispatch of November 27, 1908) 'conceal from myself the risks in such an arrangement. The non-official majority may press legislation of a character disapproved by the Executive Government. This should be met by the exercise of the power to withhold assent possessed by the Government. . . . On the other hand, and perhaps more often, there may be opposition on the part of the non-official members to legislation that the Government desires. With a Council, however, representing divergent interests and realising, together with its increased powers, its greater responsibility, a combination of all the non-official members to resist a measure proposed by the Government would be unlikely, and some non-officials at least would probably cast their votes on the side of Government.'

These considerations are not sufficient to allay all apprehensions. A more substantial guarantee is afforded

by the fact that, important as are the interests entrusted to the Provincial Councils, the range of subjects with which they can deal is already restricted by statute. The local legislatures may not, for example, without the previous assent of the Viceroy, make or take into consideration any law

- (1) affecting the public debt of India, or the customs duties, or any other tax or duty for the time being in force, and imposed by the authority of the Governor-General in Council, for the general purposes of the Government of India ; or
- (2) regulating currency or postal or telegraph business ; or
- (3) altering in any way the Penal Code ; or
- (4) affecting religion or religious rites or usages ; or
- (5) affecting the discipline or maintenance of naval or military forces ; or
- (6) dealing with patents or copyright, or the relations of the Government with foreign Princes or States.

Thus the power of the majority on the Provincial Councils is limited by the exclusion from their control of some of the most important functions of government, and by the veto vested in the head of the Administration. But, though the majority may have little chance of passing legislation disapproved by the Executive, it cannot be denied that they will have considerable power of opposition. The use of this power may not only be inconvenient to the Administration, but it may also prove injurious to the great bulk of the population. This may be illustrated by an incident in recent history to which allusion was made in the House of Lords. The Government of Sir Anthony (now Lord) MacDonnell discovered that the landlords of the North-west Provinces resorted to a variety of devices for defeating the growth of occupancy rights among their tenants. To check this practice, fresh legislation was needed. The measure introduced met with vigorous opposition, both within and without the Legislative Council of the Provinces, from those classes which alone are competent to take an interest in legislation and able to make their voices heard. The ignorant tenants who had most to gain from Sir Anthony MacDonnell's Bill probably never heard

that legislation was contemplated; they were unable to organise any demonstration of approval; and they found no champions among the articulate classes. There is nothing in the composition of the new Councils to justify an expectation that the unofficial majority will feel a new-born solicitude for the dumb peasantry; indeed the increased representation of the land-holding classes must have the opposite tendency. In the event of the Government being compelled to undertake legislation of this kind in the future, there is great probability that their proposals will be rejected. They will then have to make their choice between two very unsatisfactory alternatives, either that of leaving the peasants' grievances unredressed, or that of legislating at Calcutta over the head of the Provincial Council—a proceeding which will assuredly be described as transferring control from the 'popular' Assembly to the 'packed' Council.

There does not appear much room for doubt that provincial legislation in the future will be more influenced by class interests and be less considerate of the masses than it has been in the past. Considering the way in which the English country gentlemen in the eighteenth century abused their political power, we shall have no right to be surprised if the landlords and lawyers of India should legislate in their own interest; but to have put the Indian Hodge beneath the heel of the Squire is a strange performance for the most democratic Parliament that ever sat at Westminster. Unwelcome, however, as these first results may be, this is an inevitable consequence of entrusting the direction of internal policy to the people of India at the present stage of their political evolution. The reforms aim at the devolution of a certain measure of power from the bureaucracy; and power can be transferred only to the classes which are capable of exercising it. As political capacity and an interest in political questions spread downwards, the lower classes will presumably begin to exercise an influence upon the members who are supposed to represent them in council, and they may eventually succeed in controlling legislation.

The relations of the unofficial majority to the Government are a question of even greater moment in the im-

mediate future. How the unofficial majority will behave is indeed the great riddle which the reforms have propounded. Will the elected members act as an organised party? Will they be in permanent opposition? Will they attempt to control the Executive? The answer to these questions depends upon the temper in which the Indian members enter upon their new functions. Lord Morley appears to hope that, 'with a Council representing divergent interests and realising with its increased power its increased responsibility, a combination of all the non-official members to resist a measure proposed by Government would be unlikely.' This is certainly an optimistic view. That the Council will be composed of mutually hostile groups may be conceded; but mutually hostile groups have a disagreeable way of coalescing to outvote the Ministry. Hindu and Muhammadan landlords, however strong their mutual antipathies, would certainly vote solid against a Government that attempted to put a stop to the rack-renting of tenants.

Nor is it certain that a greater sense of responsibility will be developed by the increased powers assigned to the Council. The power of a Minister in office has no doubt the almost inevitable result of producing a greater sense of responsibility; and it may be predicted with confidence that the Indian member of the Viceroy's Council will feel this responsibility to the full. But the unofficial majority on a Provincial Council will not be in office; and it may prove hard to bring home to individual free-lances the collective responsibility of the Council. The danger to be apprehended is that the elected members may not sufficiently realise that the new constitution imposes upon them a new rôle; and, from failing to realise this, they may imagine themselves, like their predecessors, charged with the functions of an Opposition.

The possibility that the elected members will take up this attitude is much increased by a change which Lord Morley has introduced into the method of election, a change the importance of which has not been sufficiently appreciated in England. Hitherto these persons did not become members of Council until their election had been ratified or confirmed by the head of the Government. The knowledge that this confirmation might be withheld prevented very violent enemies of the British Raj from

being put forward as candidates. Lord Morley has decided that in future this ratification or confirmation is to be dispensed with; and for it he proposes to substitute a list of the disqualifications which will make a man ineligible for a seat on the Council. Now it is very difficult to imagine that any list of disqualifications can be so drawn up as to exclude the political Extremists, whose avowed policy is separation from the Empire. No list of disqualifications that is within the bounds of probability would exclude Mr Shyamaji Krishna Varma, if he decided to return to India and solicit the suffrages of the Extremists; and, if he so decided, he would, in the present temper of Western India, have as good a chance of election as the Hon. Mr Gokhale. For, as the special correspondent of the 'Times' wrote on January 8,

'the Extremists . . . are still better organised and more energetic than the Moderates. Their hatred of Moderate tactics is unabated. When Mr Gokhale passed through Sholapore Station the other day on his way to the Madras Congress, a crowd of Deccani Brahmans assembled round his carriage and hissed and hooted him.'

When such is the state of public opinion, it is dangerous to give the Extremists so conspicuous a platform as a Legislative Council from which to preach the overthrow of the British Government; such doctrine ought not to receive the stamp of legitimacy which the ignorant public would certainly attach to it when uttered from a seat in Council in the presence of the Governor. Moreover, at the outset, when the new Councils are forming their traditions, the presence of a compact block of Extremists would make it very hard for the Moderates to work with the Government, and would emphasise the tendency which already exists in all elected members to assume the functions of an Opposition. Now a legislative assembly in which the Opposition is in a majority is a novel and not too promising experiment; and, since the Extremist element in the Councils would be much increased by the new method of direct election, we think that this provision in Clause 1 of the Bill requires amendment. If the Extremists are excluded, it is perhaps not over-sanguine to hope that the Moderates will work with the Government, not indeed as an organised party, but

as individuals. At any rate, as Lord Cromer said, it is an experiment that has to be tried.

Moreover, there is an even stronger justification than the general tendency towards parliamentary institutions. If the new situation is not free from hazard, the old one was well-nigh intolerable. The official majority in the past reduced debate to a farce; the non-official representatives were deprived of even the semblance of responsibility; and, since the most cogent reasoning could have no effect upon the voting, they inevitably tended to become violent and irreconcilable. There will be no justification for such an attitude in the future; and, if the elected members can but disabuse their supporters of the belief that opposition to Government is a proof of independence and patriotism, there is no reason why the amicable and practical spirit which has usually prevailed in the select committees should not become a tradition of the new Councils. If this hope is realised, the most reasonable forecast that can be made of the future is that the Councils will be divided into groups which will give a fluctuating support to the Executive; and the Government will succeed in getting the necessary legislation passed by the exercise of the same parliamentary diplomacy as the Imperial Chancellor makes use of in the German Reichstag.

We have so far only discussed the probable effect of the reforms upon the relations of the Government with the people; it remains now to consider how they will affect the relations of the various peoples of India with each other. This aspect of the reforms brings us at once face to face with the fundamental problems of Indian politics. The different communities can present a very passable appearance of unity when demanding that the Government shall surrender privileges to the children of the soil; for, as against the English, Hindus and Muhammadans, Sikhs and Parsis, have a common interest; but, as soon as any devolution of power actually takes place, each community is naturally anxious to secure for itself the largest possible share of appointments and seats in Council. The history of the reforms has faithfully reflected this characteristic of Indian politics. As soon as Lord Morley announced his intention of recommending

an Indian to the King for an appointment on the Viceroy's Council, the Muhammadans demanded that two such appointments should be made, one for a Hindu and one for a Muhammadan. They formulated a similar request for the representation of their community on the Councils of the Governors and Lieutenant-Governors. They have been even more insistent with regard to their representation upon the Legislative Councils. As soon as Lord Morley indicated his intention of entertaining the Muhammadan demands, an outcry arose from the Hindus, who appeared to feel that the very essence of the reforms was slipping from them if their community was not to retain the advantages apparently conceded to them by Lord Morley's despatch of November 27.

It is as useless to minimise these sectarian rivalries as it is to contend that they constitute an argument against a change in the autocratic form of government. On the one hand, the division of India into a number of different and more or less antagonistic communities constitutes the fundamental problem of Indian politics; and all reforms must take it into account. On the other hand, it is mere trifling with a grave situation to suggest that no political privileges are to be granted until these secular rivalries have been set at rest; for it is only by the actual exercise of political rights that we can hope to elicit that public spirit which will make sectarian jealousies impossible. But any intelligent scheme of representation will aim at diminishing as much as possible the occasions of friction; as discord is probable, it is wise to eliminate, where we can, the opportunities of strife.

Elementary as this precaution appears to be, it is persistently overlooked by those who attempt to direct the destinies of India from the Congress *pandal* or the floor of the House of Commons. Loud complaints have already been evoked by the decision of the Government of India to give separate representation to the Muhammadans. It is alleged that this will break up Indian society into hostile camps and prevent the fusion of the separate elements into one nationality. A little reflection will show that it must have the opposite tendency, as the facts of contemporary history both in India and Europe clearly demonstrate. Where conflicting nationalities

occupy the same territory, experience proves that the surest way of setting them by the ears is to let them fight out a contested election; and that, if elections there must be, the only way to preserve harmony is to take from them this occasion for strife. This can be done, and has been done, by the device of the double register. The last electoral law of Austria (January 20, 1907) was drawn up with the specific object of putting an end to the national conflicts which were paralysing public life. As the special correspondent of the 'Times' (May 14, 1907) explained,

'the specifically Austrian feature of the Bill is the allotment of a given number of mandates (or seats) to the various races, with the object of precluding electoral contests between candidates of different race. Consequently, two registers have to be compiled in mixed constituencies, Czech voters voting, for instance, for a Czech candidate on a Czech register, and Germans for a German candidate on a German register.'

The whole Act is worth the attention of English politicians, for it shows how a European country (now enjoying universal suffrage) has grappled with a difficulty very closely analogous to that of India. But it is not necessary for them to go so far afield for illuminating evidence. The logic of facts has driven Indian administrators to the same solution in provinces where racial or religious feeling runs high; and we might have expected Mr O'Donnell to know this. In the report on the working of the municipalities in the Panjab during the year 1907-8, there is a laconic entry of about the same length as the amendment of which he has given notice.

'§ 2. The system of each religious community electing its own representatives has been extended to Ambala and Rewari, so as to equalise the number of Hindu and Muhammadan members of the Committee. This system, where it has been tried in the Panjab, has proved popular and successful, as it removes a cause of friction and secures the representation of minorities.'

Perhaps it is too much to expect the politicians of Bengal to seek instruction from the analogies of eastern Europe, but it is not unreasonable to ask an official

to utilise Indian experience for the solution of Indian problems.

The distinction between Hindu and Muhammadan represents one of the major fissures in Indian society ; but, besides these two communities, there are many others which have not yet learned to make their voices heard, and whose political ambitions have not yet appeared above the horizon. The Hindus, Sikhs, Jains, Buddhists, Parsis, Muhammadans, Christians, and Animists—the principal heads into which the census divides the population—do not by any means exhaust the category of divisions. The great Hindu community itself is split through and through into separate castes and sub-castes. The Rajputs, for instance, are a distinct community with special interests of their own ; they are warriors by right of birth, and do not by any means see eye to eye with Hindus of the clerkly castes. Below these twice-born aristocrats is a mass of lowly humanity, from whose hands no well-born Hindu will drink water ; there are others lower still, whose mere touch pollutes ; and again others, still more degraded, whose very presence, without contact, pollutes their high-caste fellows. In southern India these degrees of impurity have been classified in a sort of table of precedence ; some of these poor people are esteemed to pollute at a distance of twelve feet, others at thirty-six ; and the unhappy outcast Pariah is believed to transmit his uncleanness from a distance of sixty-four feet. Mr Gokhale, who (to his lasting honour) has always denounced the indignities heaped upon these depressed castes, recently estimated their number at fifty millions, or one-fifth of the whole Hindu population. It is difficult to believe that even the long-suffering Pariah will always consent to be numbered among the political followers of the Brahman who compels him to keep a distance of sixty-four feet between the wind and his nobility. As education spreads, carrying with it the levelling ideas of Europe, these different sections of the Hindu polity will begin to assert their right to an independent political existence ; they will create caste organisations for education and social reform, and eventually for political representation. This has been the history of all social reform in the last fifty years. The reforming movement has never embraced the whole population

even of one locality, but has wakened to conscious corporate life first one caste and community and then another; and it is inevitable that political development will follow the same course.

To those who hoped that nature in India could be persuaded to make a leap, it is no doubt discouraging to find that the first results of political awakening must be increased diversity and division. The creation of a vigorous corporate life in each separate community is an inevitable phase of the long process by which, we may hope, the unity of India will eventually be attained. We must accept it, with what complacency we can, as an illustration of Herbert Spencer's law that 'the integration of the organism necessarily begins with the formation of small groups and advances by compounding and recompounding them.' The unification of India, or the formation of homogeneous provinces in a federal India, is the ultimate goal which is now set before us. Without unity or homogeneity the parliamentary institutions of which Lord Morley has planted the seed are impossible; and the work of unification ought to be the principal subject of the new chapter of Indian history which he opened in last December.

In that task of nation-making the people themselves must play by far the largest part. Lord Minto said that the destinies of the people of India were now in their own hands; and this is true, not only in the obvious, but also in the profoundest, sense of the words. In proportion as they succeed in schooling themselves to mutual trust and forbearance in place of suspicion, to cooperation in place of rivalry, they will hasten the arrival of the time when a larger share of self-government will be possible. A great responsibility is laid upon their political leaders; it rests with them to inaugurate the new era in Indian politics; henceforward they should bury out of sight and out of memory those sectarian ideals by which they have hitherto inflamed the perfervid and partisan zeal of their followers. Mr Ali Imam, in speaking to the Muhammadans at Amritsar last Christmas, had the courage to show the way, and to urge his own community to abandon a narrow and sectarian view of their responsibilities to India. Hitherto the Musalmans, proud of their great Islamic heritage, have been too

prone to speak of themselves as aliens sojourning in a foreign country. That view, so prejudicial to Indian unity, Mr Ali Imam put resolutely aside.

'We, the educated Musalmans of India' (he said) 'have no less love for the land of our birth than the members of other communities inhabiting the country. India is not only the land of our birth; we are tied to her by the sacred associations of ages. We yield to none in veneration and affection for our motherland.'

Perhaps few English readers will perceive what an epoch is marked by that last sentence. The Musalman not only accepts but claims an Indian nationality; this is a step towards unity the significance and importance of which it is impossible to overestimate. But Mr Ali Imam was certainly justified in asking for reciprocity. It is impossible not to sympathise with him when he says later:

'When I find the most advanced province of India put forward the sectarian cry of "Bande Mataram" as the national cry, the sectarian worship of Shivaji as the national hero-worship, and the sectarian Rákhibandhan as a national observance, my heart is filled with despair and disappointment.'

It is true, indeed, that these war-cries of militant Hinduism only serve to kindle the anger of other communities and ought to be hushed. But the Hindu community contains many men of influence who have never approved of this extreme sectarianism; and we may hope that they will in future set their faces inexorably against a spirit so alien to the genius of Hindu civilisation.

All the leading communities of India are called upon to play a difficult and rather exacting part, if the new reforms are to work smoothly; but of no community is so hard and yet so honourable a part demanded as of the Englishmen in the service of the Indian Government. Hitherto it has been their boast that they have provided the people of India with the most efficient administration in the world. Henceforward they will have to add to their exacting duties the delicate task of introducing political institutions into India, of developing the capacity of the people to work them, and above all, of promoting that concord and mutual forbearance without which

even the beginnings of self-government are impossible. The Indian civilian must, to some extent, abandon the conspicuous part he has hitherto played in the administration; his duty in future will be to suggest, to advise, and to guide. To others will belong the credit which comes from the wisdom of his suggestions; his reward will be in the smooth working of Councils and local Boards, on which he will have persuaded men to give up partisan advantage and forgo the luxury of revenge. The Civil Service has great traditions, and it has before now been called upon to make great sacrifices which it has never refused; but it is some measure of the boundless confidence which is reposed in that historic service that it should be asked to surrender the last infirmity of noble minds.

Before we at home had quite perceived how much we were asking, the Civil Service had proclaimed its loyal readiness to make this great surrender. The report of Lord Morley's speech which introduced the reforms cannot have been two weeks in India before Sir Norman Baker, the head of the civil servants in Bengal, proclaimed their acceptance of the new conditions under which they will in future have to serve:

'I hold' (he said) 'that a solemn duty rests upon the officers of Government in all its branches, and more particularly upon the officers of the Civil Service, so to comport themselves in the inception and working of the new measures as to make the task of the people and their leaders easy. It is incumbent upon them to accept the principle that these measures involve the surrender of some portion of the authority and control which they now exercise, and some modification of the methods of administration.'

The trials to which civilians have been exposed recently have been considerable; the difficulty of administration has been greatly increased by seditious agitation; and they have been maligned in the House of Commons by people who ought to know better. The speech of Sir Norman Baker gives the lie to those calumnies and is the best augury for the success of the new scheme.

Art. 17.—UNION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

1. *Report of the South African National Convention, with Draft South Africa Act annexed.* 1909.
2. *The Constitution of Canada.* By J. E. C. Munro. Cambridge: University Press, 1899.
3. *The Constitution of the Commonwealth of Australia* By W. Harrison Moore. London: Murray, 1902.

THE Convention of South African statesmen, which assembled at Durban in October last to consider proposals for the union of the South African colonies, has, after an adjournment to Cape Town, brought its deliberations to a close. The outcome of nearly four months of labour is a draft Constitution presented in the form of a Bill for introduction into the Imperial Parliament, where, after submission to the Legislatures of the four colonies concerned, it may be expected eventually to make its appearance. The proceedings of the Convention have not been made public, and they are wisely withheld; but enough is known to show that it was only by the expenditure of much patience and effort that agreement was finally reached; that during the debates there were many moments of anxiety, not to say of crisis; and that the success of the Convention must be ascribed to the presence among the delegates of a spirit that does them honour, a spirit of compromise in the best and highest sense—that readiness to sacrifice the part to the whole, to forget the smaller aim in the pursuit of the greater, which is the essential condition of all constructive work in statesmanship. Compromise is written in every line of the draft Constitution; but nothing, we are assured, has been carried by a majority over the heads of an unwilling minority. In the case of every disputed point, however reluctantly the minority may have acquiesced, the final decision of the Convention has been accepted with practical unanimity; a fact which, more perhaps than any other, gives ground for a sanguine hope that the labours of the Convention will bear immediate fruit, and that the Constitution it has drafted will at no distant date become in all essentials the duly legalised instrument of a South African Union.

To any one at all familiar—and which of us is not

familiar?—with the immediate historic background, and with the deep-driven fissures of South African life, such a result may well appear remarkable. Ten years ago South Africa presented the spectacle of two self-governing British colonies confronting two allied and quasi-independent Dutch Republics. Of the two British colonies, one was small but really British in population and sentiment; the other, the largest of all the South African States both in area and population, but divided as to its white inhabitants about equally between English and Dutch, and with political power at the moment substantially in the hands of the latter. In the larger of the two Republics, on the other hand, there was a great community of Britons, more than equal in numbers to the Dutch population, bearing practically the whole burden of taxation, but deprived of political rights and denied all legitimate influence in the government.

Thus, while the polity of the British colonies was founded on the principle of equal rights for all civilised men, a system was in existence in the Transvaal which placed the Briton in a position of inferiority to the ruling caste of Boers. Accidental, in a certain sense, in its origin, and dominated by a corrupt and selfish oligarchy, this system had yet become identified with a racial ideal which, though from one point of view narrow and proscriptive, was not ignoble in itself, and drew into its service no small amount of high-minded and disinterested enthusiasm. Such a system was as essentially aggressive and propagandist in its spirit as the slave confederacy of the Southern States in America; it had either to perish altogether or to extend its sway over the whole of South Africa; it left no room for the British flag or for Britons, except on condition of assimilation to their rulers or acceptance of an inferior status; and it thus created a situation in which civil war was inevitable, only that, apart from reinforcement from without, civil war for the weaker side was all but hopeless. Eventually, the Imperial Government intervened; and, in the long agony of the war, Krugerism, sinister and sordid in nearly all its aspects, and the nobler but impossible dream of a Dutch South Africa, which had been the inspiration of the young Afrianders, perished together.

The Peace of Vereeniging left the country exhausted

and still disunited, and the population everywhere divided into two racial camps, with all the bitterness of defeat among the vanquished and some of the insolence of triumph among the victors. Pitted against Krugerism and Young-Africanderism, the large and tolerant ideals which are enshrined in the Colonial polity of Britain had prevailed; but, though the war had really been a victory for British ideals, it was inevitable perhaps that the British party should regard it rather as a victory for themselves, and that for the Dutch ascendancy which had been destroyed a quasi-British ascendancy should, for a time at all events, be substituted. Self-government in no distant future had been guaranteed to the annexed Republics by the provisions of the treaty of peace, so that the period of privileged authority for the British party could not be long; and they were anxious to make the best use of the opportunity while it lasted.

At the close of the war a spirit of inflation was in the air, generated in some degree by the capital which the war had artificially introduced. In this atmosphere the new administration in the Transvaal was organised; and its policy was largely based on the assumption that the country was on the eve of an immense economic development which would automatically place the immigrant British population in a position of permanent ascendancy. Unfortunately for this calculation, the facts refused to respond. A combination of unfavourable circumstances following the war had induced a serious scarcity of the native labour on which the gold industry of the Transvaal was almost wholly dependent. This scarcity was accentuated by the artificial demand for native labour which inflation in all its forms and consequences had created; and, though the supply grew larger during the eighteen months that followed the Peace, the increase was too slow to satisfy a community and an Administration anxious for immediate results. The event has proved that, if only patience had been exercised, time would have brought the remedy, by the steady increase of the native workers in the first place, by the diminution of competition with the mines for their services as inflation died away, and by the multiplication of expedients for economising their labour. Before, however, time had shown what it could do, the unlucky policy of importing

Chinese to supplement the Kaffirs was devised, and gained immediate favour as a short cut to prosperity. This policy must now be recognised as a mistake. The Government at home allowed itself to be persuaded by 'the man on the spot'; it miscalculated the effect which the introduction of the new system would produce in this country, and failed to foresee the unscrupulous manner in which objections, often conscientious in themselves, would be utilised for political purposes.

There is, fortunately, no need to tell over again the weary tale of the years that followed, during which South Africa was dragged once more—and it is to be hoped for the last time—through the mire of party controversy in England. Suffice it to say that the general election of 1906 sounded the death-knell alike of Chinese labour and of the ascendancy of the Rand party in the Transvaal. A fresh beginning had to be made; and from the apparently hopeless tangle in which they found themselves the only exit the victorious Liberals could see was by an unconditional grant of self-government to the annexed Republics at the earliest possible moment. It is easy now, when passions are allayed, to regard the whole proceedings with philosophic calm; but there is little to be said for the manner in which the policy of the Liberal Government was conceived and carried through. What ought to have been given after full deliberation was given precipitately. What should have been an act of generous concession to our new fellow-subjects bore the air of being an act of political revenge upon a defeated party, and was made to assume an appearance needlessly provocative and humiliating to the British element in South Africa. Self-government, which, by the manner of the gift, ought to have had a reconciling influence, was converted into an apple of discord; the right thing was done, but done in the wrong way.

But the truth of the military maxim—that, if your strategy is right, tactical blunders are limited in their consequences—was soon, on this occasion, exemplified in politics. From the moment when self-government was given to the Transvaal, the strain in South Africa began to be relieved. There, where men were in actual contact with the facts, the anxiety and alarm had probably never been so great as in England, where imagination, fed by

partisan reports in both sections of the daily press, could more easily run riot. In the Transvaal both parties were soon occupied in preparation for the elections; in England, meanwhile, the expected victory of the Boers was represented in lurid colours as a retrocession of the country to our lately vanquished enemies and as a complete surrender of the advantages of the war. But, when the elections were over, it soon became clear that, though the British party had been defeated, the principles for which the war had been waged were in no immediate danger. The new Government in the Transvaal had had its majority swollen by a large number of voters from the British camp; and its moral strength depended in no small degree on its retaining the confidence of these supporters on the Rand. Any marked tendency to revert to the practices of the Kruger régime would at once have reunited the British population; but, from the first, the Botha Government showed no traces, or only the faintest, of such a disposition. Its course was made easy by the speedy appearance of signs of economic revival after the long depression that had weighed upon the country. Even Chinese labour proved no exception to the rule that nothing is indispensable in this changing world. The gold-mining industry, profiting by the lessons it had learnt in the school of adversity, began to make progress; and, though the effects were slow to show themselves in the general condition of the community, and are hardly visible as yet beyond the limits of the Transvaal, the political gloom was quickly lightened by the dawn of economic promise.

In the meantime, a small band of enthusiasts, inspired by the tradition which Lord Milner had left behind, and encouraged in their efforts by his successor, Lord Selborne, had been labouring assiduously to turn the troubles and misfortunes of the country to account by using them as an argument for a united South Africa. The seed they scattered fell on fruitful ground. It was felt instinctively by all that in union lay the best hope of rescuing South Africa from the strife of party politicians in England. The native rising in Natal supplied another weighty argument. But the economic stress from which all the colonies were suffering, both in their public revenues and their private resources, was the most powerful motive of

all. In the Transvaal, especially, the movement made rapid headway; and there, from the first, the policy of unification in preference to federation was advocated and found approval. In May of last year an Intercolonial Conference assembled in Pretoria to discuss certain differences as to railway rates that had arisen between the colonies, and to revise the Customs Union and provide for its renewal. With great wisdom and statesmanship the delegates went to the root of the whole matter at once. Recognising that these perplexing questions of finance could be satisfactorily adjusted only as part of a larger scheme of general political union, they passed a resolution in favour of such a scheme, and, having entered into provisional arrangements on the matters immediately in dispute, dispersed to press the larger policy on the attention of their respective parliaments. The result was a series of resolutions by the parliaments, affirming the principle of closer union and the nomination by the various Governments of delegates to the Convention which has drafted the Federal Constitution.

From the outset, the Transvaal delegation, composed of the chief leaders of the Boer and British parties, and working with unexpected harmony after so many years of strife, appears to have taken the lead in the Convention; and the draft Constitution bears the impress of their ideas. The first remarkable fact about it is its almost completely unitary character. The policy of unification which found favour in the Transvaal could not be adopted without disguise; but in all essentials that policy has prevailed. '*Ex Africa semper aliquid novi.*' The new Constitution is not, like the Constitution of the United States of America, a federal union of sovereign States in which only such powers are vested in the central Government and Legislature as the States have expressly delegated. It is not even, like the Constitution of the Canadian Dominion, a federal union of provinces in which, though the process is reversed and only such powers are retained by the provinces as are expressly granted to them by the federal instrument, these powers are safeguarded against attack from the central Government and Legislature by the federal instrument itself. Nor is it such a compromise between these two systems

as we find in the Constitution of the Australian Commonwealth, where, though the States are sovereign States in the sense that they are the residuary legatees of all powers not enumerated in the Constitution, the enumeration is so exhaustive as to make the National Parliament superior in its range of powers even to that of Canada. The new Constitution, in fact, is not a federation at all. It is to all intents and purposes a complete legislative union; and its true analogy is to be sought, not in any of the great federations of the English-speaking world, but in the union of England and Scotland to form Great Britain, or in the later union of Great Britain and Ireland to form the United Kingdom. In the words of the draft Act itself, the colonies consenting are to be 'united in a legislative union under one Government under the name of South Africa.'

Why, it may be asked, should we see in South Africa this notable departure from the precedents of Canada and Australia? What is it in the circumstances of the country that has rendered necessary, or even possible, the choice of union in preference to federation as the basis of the new Constitution? The first and obvious answer is the presence of the great native population. That is a difficulty which the framers of the Canadian and Australian Constitutions were not compelled to face; it is one which manifestly calls for a strong central government that shall not be thwarted in its activity by local rivals jealous of encroachment on their privileges. A second reason is to be found in the comparative smallness of the white population. In all South Africa there are only about a million white inhabitants; and to the leaders of the movement for union it seemed wasteful and absurd that this small community should be equipped, for purposes of government and legislation, with five complete parliaments, all fully elaborated with Upper and Lower Chambers, Speakers, Prime Ministers, Cabinets, and so forth. In a country where payment of members is the rule, the question of expense was of no small importance; and the argument founded on expense drew additional force from the economic stress under which South Africa is labouring. But, apart from expense, it was obviously impossible to find suitable men in numbers sufficient for the working of such a system.

These, no doubt, were the arguments that prevailed with the Convention; but there are other reasons that will tell in favour of the acceptance of the policy the Convention has recommended. It may seem a paradox to say that the war, with its far-resounding clash of contending ambitions and ideals, has helped the cause of union. It clove the white community in twain, indeed; but the line of cleavage ran athwart all existing lines of colonial rivalry and division, and helped to obliterate them; and thus the combatants on both sides acquired a readiness to look beyond the horizon of their colony or State such as hardly existed in either Canada or Australia till after federation. There are elemental facts in South African geography, and in the economic relations of its various parts, that have wrought no less effectively in the same direction. South Africa is, in the main, a thinly-peopled pastoral and agricultural country, but with two great centres of industry, Kimberley and Johannesburg, in the far interior. These two places—Johannesburg especially—play in South Africa a part to which there is nothing analogous in either Canada or Australia. The only other considerable towns are the three or four ports that exist largely by their trade with Johannesburg, which is at once the great magnet to draw capital into South Africa, and the great source of the stream of wealth flowing through the country. By its influence a sense of solidarity of economic interest has been created in South Africa; and political union in the closest possible form has thus been facilitated.

In the United States and in Australia the pre-existing constitutions of the States survived unchanged, subject only to supersession in regard to some of their functions by the Union or the Commonwealth; and, though the case of Canada was somewhat different, owing to the arrangements that were made simultaneously with federation for the severance of the Upper and Lower Provinces, the principle was the same. But in South Africa the constitutions of the individual colonies entering the Union will *ipso facto* disappear. Provision is made, indeed, in the Constitution for the organisation of provincial government. An Administrator is to be appointed by the Union Government in every province as chief executive officer; and Provincial Councils are to be created with

subordinate powers of legislation on certain specified subjects. But the legislation passed by these Councils will be subject to the veto of the Governor-General, advised by the Union Government; and it will have no validity against the acts of the Union Parliament, which will thus have throughout what is called in Canada 'concurrent jurisdiction.' The Provincial Councils are in fact to be little more than glorified county councils, entirely at the mercy of the Union Parliament and Government; and their constitution derives no special sanctity from the almost accidental fact that it is elaborated in the same fundamental document as the Constitution of the South African Union itself.

For, be it observed, that document itself will, with but slight qualifications, be at the mercy of the Union Parliament, and subject to amendment by that Parliament like any ordinary Act passed by itself. In this respect the new Constitution belongs, like that vague mass of custom and legislation which we call the Constitution of the United Kingdom, to the category of 'flexible' constitutions, as they have conveniently been called, in opposition to such Constitutions as those of the United States, Canada, and Australia, which are 'rigid' in the sense that they rest on fundamental documents with a higher validity than ordinary Acts of the Legislature, and requiring a special procedure for their modification. There are indeed some minor points in the new Constitution which make it necessary to qualify the account just given. In the case of certain provisions, a period of time has been prescribed during which they are to remain in operation; and in the case of certain others, which are regarded as fundamental conditions of the compact of Union—those, that is to say, providing for the distribution of representation in the House of Assembly between the various provinces, the provision for the equality of the Dutch and English languages, and the prohibition against the disfranchisement on the ground of race or colour of persons in the Cape Colony entitled under the existing laws to the vote—a majority of two-thirds of the members of both Houses of Parliament sitting together is required for amendment. Subject only to these qualifications, and to the limits that are imposed on every colonial legislature by the supremacy

of the Imperial Parliament, the Parliament of South Africa will be itself supreme.

The Senate in its construction presents more than one novelty, and is not perhaps the happiest feature of the new Constitution. As might have been expected, it shows more clearly than any other the influence of the federal idea. It is to be composed of eight members nominated by the Governor-General in Council (half of these to be selected on the ground of their acquaintance 'with the reasonable wants and wishes of the coloured races in South Africa'), and of eight elected from each of the four provinces—of forty members, that is to say, in all. The first elected members are to be chosen from the several provinces by the existing colonial legislatures, and are to hold their seats for ten years, during which period the Senate cannot be dissolved. The result is only too likely to be that for the first ten years the Senate will be the great stronghold of decaying particularist sentiment. Fortunately its powers for mischief are not likely to be great. The long period for which its members are elected is certain to diminish its prestige; and, if disputes arise with the Lower House, the will of the latter must, under the provisions of the Constitution, speedily prevail. After the expiry of ten years, unless the Union Parliament should otherwise arrange, the federal principle of equal representation of the provinces will be retained; and senators will be chosen from each province by an electoral body composed of the members of the Provincial Council together with the members of the House of Assembly elected in the province. This provision, by which the members of the House of Assembly are to have a voice in the election of senators, is an interesting innovation. The Senate may show more resisting power than the purely nominated Senate of the Canadian Dominion, but it will be less popular in its constitution than the Senate of the Australian Commonwealth, whose members are elected directly by the people of the States. It is curious that on this point, and this point alone, the American example should have proved more potent in South Africa than in either Canada or Australia. The framers of the Constitution may have been impressed by the position of authority,

unique among Second Chambers, which the American Senate holds; though the great prestige of that body is due, not to the method of its election, but to the executive powers which it possesses in the scheme of federal government.

The House of Assembly is also, for ten years at all events, to be constituted on a provincial basis. It is to consist at the outset of 121 members, of whom 51 are allotted to the Cape Colony, 36 to the Transvaal, and 17 to each of the smaller colonies. For ten years these numbers cannot be diminished for any province; but, after the census of 1911, and each succeeding quinquennial census, there is to be an allotment of fresh members to each province as it becomes entitled to them by the increase of its European male adult population. Eventually, when the total number of members has reached 150, it is to remain fixed at that limit; and the members are to be distributed throughout the Union on a uniform principle. Within the several provinces the members are to be distributed from the first approximately according to voting strength; and the constituencies are to be delimited by a commission of judges, with provision for automatic redistribution after every census. Unfortunately, in the original allotment of members to the various provinces, an injustice seems to have been done to the Cape Colony, owing (it is said) to an under-estimate of the adult males in its European population at the time of the last census; and for reasons that are not clear, the Convention, when the error was discovered, found it impossible to apply a remedy. The result of course has been to create a sense of injustice in the Cape Colony which places a formidable weapon in the hands of the enemies of union.

The framers of the Constitution had to face three great difficulties—the problem of the capital, the problem of native franchise, and the problem of finance. Any one of the three, if injudiciously treated, might well have wrecked the chances of union; and in all three cases the treatment actually applied to overcome the difficulty has been substantially the same. Patchwork arrangements have been effected which, while obviously subject to revision and really postponing the difficulty for settlement in the future, will save the new Parliament from

the necessity of finding solutions at the very outset of its career. Nothing could have been wiser. In none of these cases was the opportunity ripe for the application of final principles; a few years hence the difficulties will either settle themselves or be settled without danger to the solidarity of the Union. At the last moment, for instance, there was a danger of the Constitution being wrecked on the rival and fiercely debated claims of Cape Town and Pretoria to the honour of becoming the capital of South Africa. The intrinsic importance of the question was comparatively slight, but its sentimental importance could not be overestimated. Compromise seemed impossible; but at last an ingenious compromise was arranged. Pretoria is to be the 'Seat of Government,' but the Legislature is to sit in Cape Town; while, as a sop to the Orange River Colony, the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court is to find a home in Bloemfontein. It is difficult to believe that this fantastic arrangement can be permanent, though Lord Curzon, with his experience of Simla and Calcutta to guide him, thinks that it can be justified on its intrinsic merits. But the great merit of the arrangement is that, while Pretoria is convinced that the Legislature must follow the Civil Service to the north, Cape Town is able to believe that the Civil Service will rather be drawn to the Legislature in the south. As Lord Curzon has remarked, the most ridiculed of compromises sometimes show an unexpected vitality; but in any case, when a true South African feeling has had time to develop itself, if practice should tell against the present arrangement, the whole question can be settled as a mere matter of convenience.

Principle is more deeply involved in the question of the native franchise; but there also assuredly the decision of the Convention was wise. The difficulty arose from the fundamental divergence of sentiment and practice on this question between the Cape and the northern colonies; and it has been met by allowing the franchise laws existing in the provinces before the Union to remain in force thereafter. The Union Parliament however, and not the provinces, is to have the power of prescribing fresh qualifications; but this power will be subject to the provision already noted safeguarding the rights of coloured voters at the Cape. Perhaps the wisdom of

this compromise is most conclusively shown by the attacks that have been made upon it by the extremists on either side—by the negrophiles of the Cape Colony, headed by Mr Schreiner, on the one hand, and by the fanatics of native subjection in the northern colonies on the other. Here again, while any attempt to lay down principles of permanent and general application at the present moment would infallibly have wrecked the chances of union, we may confidently hope that in the wider atmosphere of a united South Africa the whole native question will be raised to a higher plane and will eventually become easier of solution. Contact between the various provinces in the sphere of government and legislation will promote assimilation of ideas; and, when interference from England—always well-intended but on this question too often disastrous—has become an impossibility, the statesmen and people of South Africa will be more conscious of the responsibility that rests upon them. The problem of the native, and of his status beside the white man, is one of those secular problems of which no one need hope to see a final solution in our time. But it is a problem that will change its aspect with the slow but steady rise of the coloured man in the scale of civilisation; and nothing is more likely to save the Kaffir in South Africa from harshness and injustice than the greater sense of security and of freedom from panic which union will confer.

In this connexion it may be noted that the control of native affairs throughout South Africa is henceforth to be vested in the Government of the Union. The Native Protectorates, now administered by the High Commissioner as the direct representative of the Imperial Government, will remain for the present as they are; but it is provided that the King-in-Council may, on addresses from both Houses of the South African Parliament, transfer them to the Union Government on terms set forth in a schedule to the draft Constitution. These terms will of course require the closest scrutiny by the Imperial Government before any such transference is made; but they seem adequate to securing the maintenance of the principles which have been applied so successfully to the administration of these territories under the High Commissioner. Powers, it may be

observed, are also taken by which it will be possible to admit Rhodesia into the Union by order of the King-in-Council without further legislation.

Thirdly, there is the all-important question of finance, the immediate compelling cause of union and yet the despair of unionists. Curiously enough, in the excitement attending the debates on the question of the capital, an arrangement seems to have been adjusted at the last moment with unexpected facility. Here again the expedient of deferring the real solution was adopted. The permanent financial relations between the Union Government and the provinces are to be laid down by the Union Parliament after an enquiry by a Commission with an officer of the Imperial Government as chairman. Until this enquiry is completed, the Provincial Councils will be entirely under the control of the Union Treasury in the matter of finance. They are to have a power of direct taxation within their provinces; otherwise they will be dependent on grants from the Union Treasury. The revenues of the colonies entering the Union are to be transferred to the Union Government, and all their assets and liabilities are to be taken over. According to a speech of General Botha, the consolidated debt of the Union will be 107,000,000*l.*, of which he estimates that 90,000,000*l.* will be reproductive. The railways (which in South Africa are almost invariably the property of the colonial Governments) and the harbours are to be vested in the Union and managed by a board of three Commissioners holding office for five years and presided over by a Minister; and guarantees are introduced, which may or may not be effective, against their being so administered as to tax one portion of the community for the benefit of another. There is some reason to believe that there is in the background a private arrangement between the Prime Ministers of the colonies as to the future distribution of the Transvaal trade between the various ports; or, rather, of such portion of it as is not allocated by the agreement just concluded between the Transvaal and the Portuguese colony of Mozambique, under which Delagoa Bay is to have a minimum of 50 per cent. and a maximum of 55 per cent. of the total oversea traffic to the Transvaal.

One question of great Imperial interest remains. The

clause dealing with the subject of appeals to the Privy Council runs as follows :

'There shall be no appeal from the Supreme Court of South Africa or from any division thereof to the King-in-Council, but nothing herein contained shall be construed to impair any right which the King-in-Council may be pleased to exercise to grant special leave to appeal from the Appellate Division to the King-in-Council. Parliament may make laws limiting the matters in respect of which such special leave may be asked, but Bills containing any such limitation shall be reserved by the Governor-General for the signification of his Majesty's pleasure.'

It will be remembered that, when the Bill to constitute the Australian Commonwealth was under consideration, a serious conflict arose on this question of appeals to the Privy Council. The original draft presented by the Australian delegates for submission to the Imperial Parliament provided that

'no appeal should be permitted to the Queen-in-Council in any matter involving the interpretation of the Constitution, or of the Constitution of a State, unless the public interests of some part of her Majesty's dominions, other than the Commonwealth or a State, are involved';

and it also provided that, while in other matters the right of the Crown-in-Council to grant special leave of appeal should remain unimpaired, the Parliament of the Commonwealth might make laws limiting the matters in which leave might be asked. To these provisions Mr Chamberlain, advised by the law officers of the Crown, objected; and for a time the Bill appeared to be in danger. But after some negotiation a compromise was arranged. The provision that no appeal should lie to the Crown-in-Council on questions of constitutional interpretation was accepted by the Imperial Government in an amended form, and subject to the stipulation that the Australian High Court might certify that the question was one 'which ought to be determined by Her Majesty-in-Council.' But the other provision, empowering the Australian Parliament to make laws limiting the matters in respect to which leave to appeal might be asked, was qualified by the addition of the words, 'but proposed laws containing any such limitation shall be reserved by the

Governor-General for her Majesty's pleasure.' Under the unitary constitution of South Africa the question of constitutional interpretation has little significance, and is not referred to in the Act as drafted; but the clause dealing with appeals on general matters follows closely the language of the Australian Act, with the addition of the words inserted therein at the instance of the Imperial Government.

One of the curiosities of the new Constitution is the adoption for all elections of the system of 'proportional representation with the single transferable vote.' It will be interesting to see how this experiment works in practice, and the most sceptical will be ready to wish it every success. A more important matter, and one of the few real blemishes in the Constitution that may have serious practical results, is the treatment of the all-important question of elementary education. For a period of five years, and thereafter until Parliament shall otherwise provide, this matter is assigned to the Provincial Councils, where it is only too likely to be at the mercy of parochial views and to suffer from a sectarian spirit. No question would have gained more by being removed to the larger atmosphere of the Union Parliament and treated on uniform principles throughout.

The new Constitution has naturally provoked much criticism and made many enemies. Some of the principal grounds of opposition have been noted already. The unfortunate error with regard to the representation of the Cape has provided a rallying cry for the particularists of that Colony. The negrophile element there is also loud in its denunciation of the native compromise; and the Labour party on the Rand is equally loud on the opposite side. Wherever there is a clique of any sort, and wherever sectional feeling is strong, there we find hostility to the Constitution, either open and undisguised, or taking the form of a demand for federation. In the Transvaal, Mr Wolmarans, the last representative of the old Kruger spirit, is the chief opponent among the Boers. In Natal, where the opposition is most formidable, the narrow provincialism which has its centre in Maritzburg, and the somewhat anti-national patriotism of the high-and-dry British school, are united in an endeavour to

wreck the Constitution. Mr Hofmeyr, the representative of the old local Bond spirit, has led the opposition at the Cape. But he has strained the allegiance of the Bond itself, the younger spirits, headed by Mr Malan, his probable successor in the leadership, being enthusiastic for union; and he has drawn upon himself a severe reproof from that redoubtable antagonist General Christian de Wet.

It is a remarkable and most encouraging fact that, on both sides, the men who were in sharpest opposition before and during the war have shown the greatest capacity to understand each other's aims and to unite in the wider field of South African nationality. Among the Dutch especially, devotion in the past to the Young Afrikaner ideal seems to have served as a preparation for the larger national ideal of to-day. A few years ago Mr Malan might have been cited as a type of the most high-minded, most fanatical, and most irreconcilable of Young Afrikaners; he has been one of the earliest and most effective enthusiasts of union. Mr Steyn and Mr Smuts were protagonists of the Afrikaner cause; with the exception of General Botha they have been perhaps the most prominent and most potent figures in the Convention. Nor can it be pretended that they are enthusiastic for union because they see in it a chance of realising their old ideal, in any sense, at all events, inimical to British interests or dangerous to the British Empire. Dr Jameson was perhaps the most effective representative of the English party in the Convention. He has told us that, when the Convention met, he was opposed to a recognition of the equality of the Dutch and English languages; but, after learning by personal contact with his Dutch colleagues to appreciate their views, he warmly supported them in this very matter. It was Dr Jameson also who proposed the concession to Dutch sentiment involved in the restoration of the name Orange Free State to the map of South Africa. He had learnt during the Convention that a sentimental clinging to the past in such things as these is not inconsistent with loyalty to the larger hope of the present and the future.

If union should be achieved as the result of the present effort, what is likely to be the effect on the Imperial position in South Africa? A South African nation will

undoubtedly arise. Between the two white races there may not for a long time to come be anything approaching to general fusion. But, as in Canada, without fusion of English and French, the national sentiment borrows something from each, so in South Africa the new nationality will take a colour from both Dutch and English and be enriched by their separate gifts and qualities. And fusion eventually is more probable than in Canada, for the religious obstacle is absent, and geographically the mixture of the two races is much more complete.

What then will be the attitude of the new South African nation to the rest of the British Empire? There seems no reason for taking other than a sanguine view. The growth of definite national feeling in Canada and Australia has changed the situation from what it was in the old colonial days, but it has not made the outlook less hopeful. It is sometimes assumed that the memories of the war, acting on the imagination of one-half of the white inhabitants of South Africa, must give to the new nation an anti-Imperial bias; but there seems no good reason for believing that this assumption will be verified. The brief experience of the last few years points all the other way; and the best justification of the policy of the war is the rapidity with which the wounds it left are healing. In a wider national sentiment racial rancour will be lost; and of rancour against the Empire there is very little trace. In some ways the centripetal forces in South Africa are likely to prove stronger than in either Canada or Australia. The dependence on the Power which holds command of the sea is perhaps more obvious and direct in South Africa than even in Australia; and the pressure of the overwhelming native population will probably, when interference from without has been eliminated, have the effect of disinclining the comparatively small white community from aspiring to a position of complete independence. The problem of maintaining the partnership between the United Kingdom and the rising nationalities at the circumference of the Empire is one which may require the highest statesmanship for its solution; but there is no reason to believe that it will assume in South Africa a more menacing form than in either Canada or Australia, which have preceded her in the path of union.

On March 30 last, the Parliaments of the four colonies which it is proposed to unite, met for the purpose of discussing the draft Act of Union. In the Transvaal both Houses of the Legislature have, after brief debate and without divisions, passed resolutions approving the new Constitution as it stands; no amendment that was suggested having received support from more than a small knot of members. In the Orange River Colony the Constitution has been adopted, but with a few slight amendments. At the moment of going to press the debates are still proceeding at Cape Town and Maritzburg; but the probabilities appear to point to the acceptance of the Constitution by the Legislatures at both these places, though possibly in each case with certain substantial amendments. In Natal, however, this acceptance will, in a special sense, be provisional; for the Government and Parliament are committed to the principle of a popular referendum before the adoption of the final draft.

According to the course of procedure recommended by the National Convention, the Convention will re-assemble at Bloemfontein in May, to consider amendments suggested by the Legislatures, and to arrange the final draft. In June this final draft was to be submitted to the Legislatures of the four colonies, in order that they might pass the addresses in favour of union; and, as soon as possible thereafter, a delegation was to proceed to England to afford information to the Imperial Government and facilitate the passing of the Act. But, apparently, in Natal the ordeal of the referendum is to precede the second submission to the Legislature; and this may lead to delay. If the delay should be serious, and still more if the Constitution should be rejected by that colony, it is probable that the other three colonies will proceed without her, so as to secure action by the Imperial Parliament before the end of the present session. As it is expected that the present session will be prolonged far into the autumn, there is good reason for hoping that, before its close, a Bill, resembling in its main features the draft South Africa Act, will be passed into law.

Art. 18.—THE CENTENARY OF 'THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.'

1. *The Quarterly Review*. Volumes I-XCIII. London: Murray, Feb. 1809–June 1853.
 2. *Memoir and Correspondence of John Murray*. By Samuel Smiles. Two vols. London: Murray, 1891.
 3. *Memoir of William Gifford*. By himself. (Prefixed to the Translation of Juvenal.) London, 1802.
 4. *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott*. [By J. G. Lockhart.] Ten vols. Edinburgh: Cadell, 1839.
 5. *The Correspondence and Diaries of the Right Hon. John Wilson Croker*. Edited by L. J. Jennings. Three vols. London: Murray, 1884.
 6. *The Life and Letters of John Gibson Lockhart*. By Andrew Lang. Two vols. London: Nimmo, 1897.
- And other works.

It was a critical moment in the history of Great Britain when, in February 1809, the first number of the 'Quarterly Review' claimed the attention of an anxious and preoccupied public. At the Congress of Erfurt, in the preceding autumn, Napoleon's star had reached its zenith. The world appeared to lie at the conqueror's feet. In alliance with a complaisant Tsar, his power extended from the Sound to the Straits of Messina, from the Tagus to the Dardanelles, and even threatened our dominion on the Ganges. Against this gigantic Empire England alone of the great Powers still stood erect; but the struggle upon which she had entered, unaided, nearly five years before, seemed well-nigh hopeless. It is true that to us at this day, looking back across the interval of a hundred years, the signs of decay are already visible. In Spain Napoleon's ambition had overleapt itself; and the popular rising of 1808 marked the beginning of that revolt of the nations, in place of the governments, to which he was eventually to succumb.

But, though the prescient brain of Pitt had long before perceived that Spain would be the cause of his great enemy's overthrow, neither there nor elsewhere was much encouragement to be found at the outset of 1809. Baylen and Vimiero had merely brought Napoleon in triumph to Madrid; and Moore's audacious raid had just ended in his death at the battle of Corunna. In

this dark hour, when general discouragement prevailed, Canning signed a treaty of alliance with the representatives of the Spanish people; but within a month Saragossa had fallen, Soult had occupied Oporto, and Victor had reduced the south of Spain. Then came a momentary gleam of hope. The Austrian declaration of war drew Napoleon away from the Peninsula; and at Aspern he met with his first serious reverse. But the gleam was short-lived. Wagram re-established the French ascendancy in central Europe. Wellesley's dearly-bought victory at Talavera was followed by his retreat to the coast. The resources of England in men and money were wasted in the futile Walcheren expedition. At home, too, things were unpromising. The spirit of Pitt had passed to no successor. The Portland Cabinet was divided in itself, and discredited by grave charges against some of its most prominent members. The nation at large, suffering grievously from the Continental Blockade, was by no means sure that the game was worth the candle. Such were the gloomy conditions under which the 'Quarterly Review' was produced, and which accompanied the first year of its existence.

It must not be forgotten that the Opposition, though weak in Parliament, was by no means inarticulate out-of-doors. The Whig party, the party of domestic reform, had sympathised with the French Revolution, at least in its early days of large hope and humanitarian enthusiasm. It had opposed the war with France; it opposed, or at any rate shrank from, a continuance of the struggle, even when the victorious Republic had become a still more aggressive Empire. Like the Tory party, it had recently lost its leader. Fox, a few months after Pitt's decease, had followed his great rival to the grave; and, like Pitt, Fox had left no successor comparable with him in parliamentary experience and prestige. But his followers were not discouraged; and there was growing up, especially in the north, a group of young men, able, eager, and eloquent, determined to keep alight the torch of Whiggism, albeit temporarily dimmed by the lurid flames of war. Moreover, it must be confessed that, in 1809, the Tory party, though it numbered among its leaders such men as Perceval and Canning, offered, in its obstinate resistance to internal reform, its military

blunders, and the scandals which it shielded or condoned, not a few points open to attack.

During seven stormy years, the 'Edinburgh Review' had given, without adequate reply, eloquent utterance to Whig discontent. The rapid success of that Review, its large sale and growing popularity, showed how widespread and deep-seated were the feelings which it at once reflected and intensified. Deprived of all share in executive power, almost banished from the counsels of the nation, the Whig party found in the 'Edinburgh Review' an organ hardly less potent, and more widely penetrating, than the tongue of Charles Fox. The blows which it delivered resounded far and wide; and the Tory party had no champion at all comparable in weight and vigour to return them. It was this consideration which led to the foundation of the 'Quarterly Review.'

Such a venture was not likely to fail from a general deficiency of literary and journalistic talent. The latter part of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century were a period of great activity in journalism, as well as in the higher walks of literature. About this time the growth in the number of magazines was very rapid. The 'Monthly Review,' established in 1749, was Whig and Nonconformist. With the 'Monthly Magazine' (1796—) Priestley and Godwin were connected. On the other side was the 'British Critic' (1793—), the organ of the High Church party. The 'Christian Observer' (1802—), edited by Zachary Macaulay, was evangelical. Among its contemporaries, the 'Anti-Jacobin or Weekly Examiner,' which ran its meteor-like course in the years 1797-8, was distinguished by the brilliancy of its wit and the pungency of its satire. But, speaking generally, with the increase in the number of magazines came a deterioration in quality. Half a dozen Reviews were started about the time when the French Revolution began, or shortly before; but all these were dead before the century was out. Many of them were founded by publishers and booksellers in order to puff their wares, an aim which soon destroyed their reputation.

In the year 1808, the project of founding a Tory Review, in opposition to the 'Edinburgh,' had for some time been in the air. Canning, as Mr Smiles reminds us, 'had impressed upon Pitt the importance of securing the

newspaper press'; and, as a step in that direction, he had himself, nine years before, started the 'Anti-Jacobin.' To him then, on September 25, 1807, John Murray, the publisher, addressed a letter, in which, after referring to the 'unquestionable talent' with which the 'Edinburgh' was conducted, he proceeds as follows ('Memoir,' i, 93):

'The principles of this work are, however, so radically bad that I have been led to consider the effect that such sentiments, so generally diffused, are likely to produce, and to think that some means equally popular ought to be adopted to counteract their dangerous tendency. But the publication in question is conducted with so much ability, and is sanctioned with such high and decisive authority by the party of whose opinions it is the organ, that there is little hope of producing against it any effectual opposition, unless it arise from you, Sir, and your friends. Should you, Sir, think the idea worthy of encouragement, I should, with equal pride and willingness, engage my arduous exertions to promote its success; but, as my object is nothing short of producing a work of the greatest talent and importance, I shall entertain it no longer if it be not so fortunate as to obtain the high patronage which I have thus taken the liberty to solicit.'

To this letter, which may be regarded as the starting-point of the 'Quarterly Review,' Canning does not appear to have returned an answer; but it was not without its effect. It may be surmised that it was with his consent that, shortly afterwards, his cousin, Stratford Canning, opened communications with Murray. In January 1808, he introduced Gifford to the publisher; 'and the starting of the proposed new periodical was the subject of many consultations between them.' In October of the same year, Murray, having gone as far as Ferrybridge in Yorkshire for the sake of a business interview with Ballantyne, continued his journey northward and visited Walter Scott at Ashestiel, in order (as Scott himself put it) 'to canvass a most important plan.' Scott had hitherto been a strong supporter of the 'Edinburgh Review,' but circumstances had recently altered his mind; and he was prepared to welcome Murray's overtures with alacrity.

Two causes had operated to sever Scott's connexion with the 'Edinburgh.' A review of 'Marmion' by the editor, Jeffrey, involved not merely a criticism on the details or even on the general execution of the poem, but





JOHN MURRAY THE SECOND.

(From a portrait by H. W. Pickersgill, R.A., in the possession of Mr Murray.)

[To face p. 735.

a condemnation of the author's poetical principles—in short, of his whole attitude of mind towards the past. Such divergence of aim and temperament was enough to make Scott resolve no longer to contribute to the Review; the violence of its Whiggism, especially as displayed in an article, in October 1808, on Spanish affairs, led him to repudiate all connexion with it. His acquaintance with Murray, who probably had some inkling of these events, began just at the moment when, wounded in his feelings 'both as a gentleman and a Tory,' he was ready to take up the cudgels in defence of his literary and his political principles.

The John Murray in question was the second of the name. His father had started the publishing business in 1768, at the sign of the 'Ship,' 32 Fleet Street, as 'successor to Mr Sandby,' a bookseller. He was the London publisher of the 'Edinburgh Review and Magazine'; but, this venture not proving successful, he founded (in 1783) the 'English Review' on his own account, and for some time edited it himself. On his early death in 1793—a death hastened by overwork and anxiety about his business, which was carried on with difficulty in the generally depressed state of trade—the 'English Review' passed into other hands. John Murray the second, being only fifteen years old at his father's death, took up, two years later, his share in the management, till then under the control of his father's partner, Highley. The business was not in a very prosperous condition, and was not likely to flourish under Highley's 'careless and indifferent management.' For seven years Murray bore with his incompetent colleague; but in 1802 the partnership was dissolved by mutual consent—Murray, then a young man of twenty-four, remaining in possession of the Fleet Street house. He speedily showed, in his publications and in his dealings with their authors, that enterprise and shrewdness, combined with generosity, which marked the 'Anak of publishers,' as Byron called him, throughout his career. 'He has more real knowledge' (wrote Scott in 1809) 'of what concerns his business than any of his brethren.'

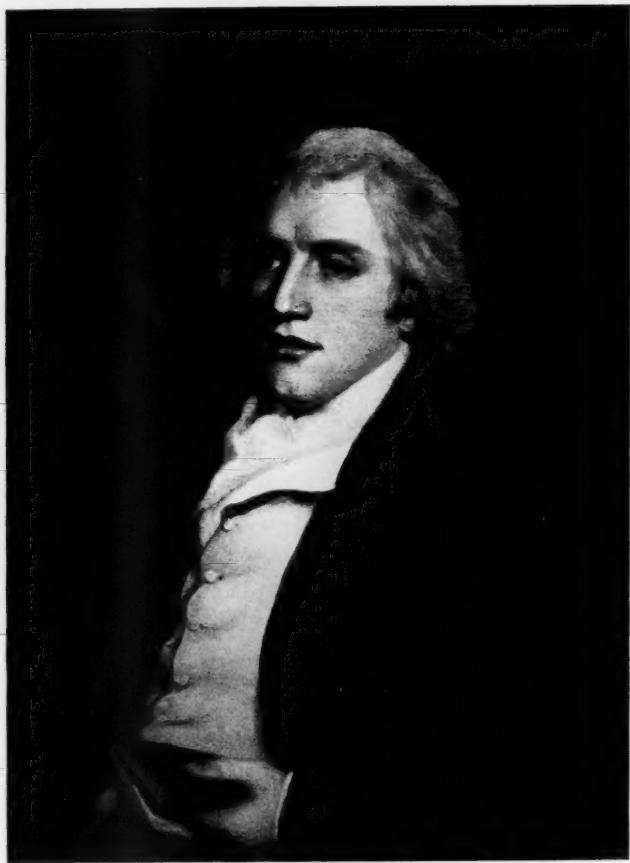
Murray soon became one of the London representatives of the famous Edinburgh firm of Constable and Co., and in this connexion did all he could to push the sale of the 'Edinburgh Review' and of Scott's poetical works. After

the breach between Constable's and Longmans' (the original London publishers of that Review), Murray took over (in 1807) the rights of publication; and for a year his name appeared on the title-page of the 'Edinburgh.' In 1808 he took a share in the publication of 'Marmion,' thus coming into direct personal touch with Scott; and about the same time he entered into business arrangements with the Ballantynes, whose partner Scott had lately—in an evil hour—become. The cessation (in 1808) of Murray's connexion with Constable's, as joint publisher of the 'Edinburgh,' did not affect his relations with Scott, while it left Murray free to establish, if he wished, a Review of his own. His treatment at the hands of the northern firm had not been such as to impose upon him any scruples about entering the lists against them; while the success of their Review—the circulation of which was now at least 5000 quarterly*—and the growing vehemence of its politics, were at once a stimulus and an encouragement to the foundation of a rival organ.

The first and most important step was to find an editor. On October 30, 1808, Murray wrote to Scott, informing him that Gifford had accepted the post. It does not appear that any one else was approached. The choice was, on the whole, a good one, and was justified by the success of the Review, which was established long before the first editor's tenure of the office came to an end. William Gifford's early career was one of the most romantic in the annals of literature. Born in 1757, the son of a scapegrace father who died of drink, and of a fond but feckless mother; left an orphan and a pauper at eight years old; maimed as a child by an accident which deformed him for life; sent to sea as a lad on a Brixham coaster, and afterwards apprenticed to a shoemaker at Ashburton—he nevertheless contrived to show in early years his inborn love of learning and literature. He saved what money he could earn by reciting verses to buy books, worked out mathematical problems with an awl on leather beaten smooth, and made his first essays in composition. His schooling had been cut short by his apprenticeship; his brutal master seized his books and

* 'Edinburgh Review,' October 1802, p. 291. Scott ('Life,' ii. 129) puts it at 9000, or (ib. p. 140) at 'eight or nine thousand.'





WILLIAM GIFFORD.

(From a portrait by W. Hoppner, R.A., in the possession of Mr Murray.)

[To face p. 737.]

put a stop to his writing. When in the depths of despair, he was rescued by the intervention of William Cookesley, a local doctor, who, with the aid of other friends, bought him out of his apprenticeship and sent him to school again. Soon afterwards, a Bible-clerkship at Exeter College, procured by the kind offices of Cookesley, enabled him to go to Oxford. To his great distress—for, to the end of his life, Gifford retained feelings of the warmest affection and gratitude towards his first patron—Cookesley died in the spring of 1781. Gifford, however, with the help of other friends, contrived to complete his university course, and took his degree in 1782. He had already begun a translation of Juvenal, and endeavoured to find subscribers who would enable him to publish it. It was in the course of this attempt that he made acquaintance with Richard, Earl Grosvenor, who took Gifford into his house and made him tutor to his son. With this son he travelled on the Continent, and saw the world; while Lord Grosvenor's position enabled the young man to make useful friends at home.

It was probably his weak health, and the habitual indolence of which that weakness was partly the cause, which hindered him from publishing anything of importance for more than a decade after his degree. But in 1794 his satire, the 'Baviad,' followed next year by the 'Mæviad,' gave him a recognised position in the world of letters. No one, it may be surmised, except professed students of literary history, reads the 'Baviad' and the 'Mæviad' nowadays; and the reason is not far to seek. These poems are admirable in versification and satirical power; but satires have little chance of survival unless, like those of Juvenal, they attack vices more or less common to all ages and all countries, or, like 'Hudibras,' ridicule persons whose qualities, good and bad, have left a permanent mark on history. The Della-Cruscan group of poetasters, whom Gifford so vigorously lashed, have deservedly fallen into oblivion; and the verses which consigned them to it, whatever their intrinsic merit, could not expect to outlive them long. Such lines as the following may be of more or less universal application:

'Abortive thoughts, that right and wrong confound,
Truth sacrificed to letters, sense to sound,

False glare, incongruous images combine;
And noise and nonsense clatter through the line.'

But it matters little to us now that the rash critics of the day dealt out unmerited praise

'to Este's unmeaning dash,
To Topham's fustian, Reynolds' flippant trash,
To Morton's catchword, Greathead's ideot line,
And Holcroft's Shug-lane cant, and Merry's Moorfield's whine';

and, as we have forgotten all about Merry, we scarcely remember the work which settled Merry's hash. How different, how much more modern, in a sense, is Juvenal, when he remarks in phrases which, as turned by Gifford in his well-known Translation (1802), find an echo still:

'Beauty and worth are purchased much too dear,
If a wife force them hourly on your ear;
For, say, what pleasure can you hope to find,
Even in this boast, this phoenix of her kind,
If, warp'd by pride on all around she lour,
And in your cup more gall than honey pour?
. . . But she is more intolerable yet,
Who plays the critick, when at table set;
Calls Virgil "charming," and attempts to prove
Poor Dido right, in venturing all for love.
From Maro to Mæonides she quotes
The striking passages, and, while she notes
Their beauties and defects, adjusts her scales,
And accurately weighs, which bard prevails.'

The ability shown in Gifford's verses led Canning and his friends to make him, in 1797, editor of the 'Anti-Jacobin'; and the brilliant success of that short-lived periodical not only enhanced his reputation, but gave him valuable political connexions. It was thus a man of no ordinary powers and experience whose services Murray enlisted for the leadership of his new Review. Round him were collected a group of writers, varying widely in talent, in temper, and in knowledge. Chief among them was the great Sir Walter, then plain Mr Scott, already known for his translations from Goethe, his 'Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border,' and his edition of Dryden, and famous for his early poems, 'The Lay' and 'Marmion.' He had begun to write 'Waverley,' but it was to be five years yet before that epoch-making romance appeared,

and longer still before Scott was known to be its author. In the inception of the 'Quarterly' he had, as we have seen, taken the warmest interest; and he welcomed the appointment of Gifford as editor. Writing to George Ellis on Nov. 2, 1808, after informing him of Murray's visit and of its object, he proceeds as follows :

'I had most strongly recommended to our Lord Advocate to think of some counter-measures against the "Edinburgh Review," which, politically speaking, is doing incalculable damage. . . . The "Edinburgh Review" tells you coolly, "We foresee a speedy revolution in this country as well as Mr Cobbett"; and, to say the truth . . . I think that for these two years past they have done their utmost to hasten the accomplishment of their own prophecy. . . . Now I think there is balm in Gilead for all this; and that the cure lies in instituting such a Review in London as should be conducted totally independent of book-selling influence, on a plan as liberal as that of the "Edinburgh," its literature as well supported, and its principles English and constitutional. . . . It is not that I think this projected Review should be exclusively or principally political. This would, in my opinion, absolutely counteract its purpose, which I think ought to be to offer to those who love their country, and to those whom we would wish to love it, a periodical work of criticism conducted with equal talent, but upon sounder principles than that which has gained so high a station in the world of letters. Is not this very possible?' ('Life,' iii, 127-131.)

To Gifford he wrote a long letter,* respecting the lines on which, in his opinion, the Review should proceed. In this letter he urged the editor-designate to follow Jeffrey's example in 'improving' the articles submitted to him, to pay his contributors well, and to remain independent of the booksellers. He is to produce a judicious mixture of literature and politics, but in neither respect to imitate the violent partisanship of the 'Edinburgh Review'; and, having 'access to the best sources of political information,' he is to be careful to obtain from Mr Canning and others then in power 'the confidential information necessary to give credit to the work.' In another letter† to Ellis, Scott inculcates similar precepts : 'The political character of the Review' (he says) 'should be of a liberal and enlarged nature, resting upon principles

* 'Life,' iii, 133-142.

† Ib. iii, 143.

indulgent and conciliatory as far as possible upon mere party questions, but stern in detecting and exposing all attempts to sap our constitutional fabric. . . . This character of impartiality, as well as the maintenance of a high reputation in literature, is of as great consequence to such of our friends as are in the Ministry, as our more direct efforts in their favour; for these will only be successful in proportion to the influence we shall acquire by an extensive circulation; to procure which, the former qualities will be essentially necessary.'

How far the Review has acted up to the principles so wisely laid down, it is for our readers, rather than ourselves, to decide.

Scott not only gave good advice, but became a frequent contributor to the Review. In the first number he wrote four essays, making, in bulk, nearly a third of the whole. His articles, some thirty in all, range over a large variety of subjects, literary, historical, and other—from 'The Cid' to Pepys, from 'Old Ballads' to 'Childe Harold,' from the Battle of Talavera to Plantations and Fly-fishing. In his article on 'Emma,'* he gave Jane Austen the first strong encouragement that she received from the higher regions of criticism. His admiration for her is well known; so is the passage in his diary ('Life,' viii, 292) in which he generously contrasts his own 'Big Bow-wow strain' with her 'exquisite touch'; but, as the article in the 'Quarterly' is not likely to be so familiar, one or two extracts from it may be welcome to our readers. After remarking on the newness of that class of fiction to which Miss Austen's stories belong—the class, namely, 'which draws the characters and incidents introduced more immediately from the current of ordinary life than was permitted by the former rules of the novel'—he goes on to point out that, while the romancer of the old school soared above the 'ordinary probabilities of life' and was therefore comparatively safe from hostile comment on the ground of common-sense, 'he who paints a scene of common occurrence places his composition within the extensive range of criticism which general experience offers to every reader,' and, thus exposed, must find it harder to please. This being so (he continues),

* 'Quarterly Review,' No. 27, October 1815. The article on Miss Austen in Q.R. No. 48 (January 1821) is not by Scott, but by Dr Whately.

'We bestow no mean compliment upon the author of "Emma," when we say that, keeping close to common incidents, and to such characters as occupy the ordinary walks of life, she has produced sketches of such spirit and originality, that we never miss the excitation which depends upon a narrative of uncommon events, arising from the consideration of minds, manners and sentiments greatly above our own. In this class she stands almost alone.'

After giving some extracts from the story, he says:

'Perhaps the reader may collect from the preceding specimen both the merits and faults of the author. The former consist in the force of a narrative conducted with much neatness and point, and a quiet yet comic dialogue, in which the characters of the speakers evolve themselves with dramatic effect. The faults, on the contrary, arise from the minute detail which the author's plan comprehends. Characters of folly or simplicity, such as those of old Woodhouse and Miss Bates, are ridiculous when first presented; but, if too often brought forward or too long dwelt upon, their prosing is apt to become as tiresome in fiction as in real society.'

We cannot help feeling that Scott must have been thinking of such stories as 'The Castle of Otranto' and its romantic progeny, and had forgotten about Fielding—not to mention others—when he spoke of the novelty of Miss Austen's subject-matter and method; on the other hand, the praise which he bestows upon her is not so warm as that given in more than one place in his diary.

But Scott's most remarkable feat in connexion with the 'Quarterly Review' was probably his article on himself.* It came about in the following way. Murray, who, along with Blackwood, had published the 'Tales of my Landlord,' had written to him in December 1816: 'Although I dare not address you as the author of certain Tales, which, however, must be written either by Walter Scott or the devil'; and Scott had replied:

* This appears to have been a not uncommon practice in Gifford's day. In March 1813 Dr Young reviewed his own 'Introduction to Medical Literature,' and in July 1813 Dr D'Oyly wrote a paper on his own 'Letters to Sir W. Drummond.' It should be added that there was this special reason in Scott's case, that justice had not been done to 'Waverley' and 'Guy Mannering' in articles (by Croker) which appeared in July 1814 and January 1815. Lockhart does not mention the circumstance; probably he was not aware of it, for the register was not made up in his time.

'I give you hearty joy of the success of the Tales, although I do not claim that paternal interest in them which my friends do me the credit to assign to me. I assure you I have never read a volume of them till they were printed. . . . But I have a mode of convincing you that I am perfectly serious in my denial, pretty similar to that by which Solomon distinguished the fictitious from the real mother—and that is by reviewing the work, which I take to be an operation equal to that of quartering the child.'

The review appeared in January 1817 (No. 32). It is evident, says the writer, that these Tales are the work of the author of 'Waverley,' 'Guy Mannering,' and 'The Antiquary'; but 'why he should industriously endeavour to elude observation by taking leave of us in one character and then suddenly popping out on us in another, we cannot pretend to guess without knowing more of his personal reasons than has hitherto reached us.' He then proceeds to criticise the works in question in a very impartial tone. The practice (he remarks) of avoiding

'the common language of narrative, and throwing the story, as much as possible, into a dramatic shape . . . is a principal cause of the flimsiness and incoherent texture of which his greatest admirers are compelled to complain. Few can wish his success more sincerely than we do, and yet, without more attention on his part, we have great doubts of its continuance. . . . Another leading fault in these novels is the total want of interest which the reader attaches to the character of the hero. Waverley, Bertram [etc.] are all brethren of a family; very amiable and very insipid sort of young men.'

This defect is partly due to 'the dramatic principle upon which the author frames his plots.'

'His chief characters are never actors, but always acted upon by the spur of circumstances, and have their fates uniformly determined by the agency of the subordinate persons. . . . The insipidity of this author's heroes may be also in part referred to the readiness with which he twists and turns his story to produce some immediate and perhaps temporary effect. This could hardly be done without representing the principal character either as inconsistent or flexible in his principles. The ease with which Waverley adopts, and afterwards forsakes, the Jacobite party in 1745 is a good example of what we mean. Had he been painted as a steady character, his conduct would have been improbable. The author was

aware of this; and yet, unwilling to relinquish an opportunity of introducing the interior of the Chevalier's military court, the circumstances of the battle of Preston-pans, and so forth, he hesitates not to sacrifice poor Waverley, and to represent him as a reed blown about at the pleasure of every breeze. A less careless writer would probably have taken some pains to gain the end proposed in a more artful and ingenious manner. But our author was hasty, and has paid the penalty of his haste.'

With this cool though not unfriendly criticism is deftly mingled a certain amount of discreet commendation; and a number of lengthy quotations are interspersed, calculated to stimulate the curiosity and arouse the interest of the reader.

Had this been all that the article contained, we should have been inclined to feel that, whatever may be said about the general morality of anonymously reviewing one's own works, there is nothing in the article which the author of the 'Tales' was not justified in saying about them. But in the latter part of the article the writer adopts an entirely different tone—a tone, not indeed of extravagant, but of warm eulogy. He enquires into the sources of the popularity of the Waverley Novels. One of the causes (he says) is 'their peculiar plan, and the distinguished excellence with which it has been executed.' Their historical value entitles the author to 'no mean place' among 'the historians of his time and country.' But his literary merits are still greater.

'His imagination is not less accurate and discriminating than vigorous and vivid. . . . The volume which the author has studied is the great book of Nature. . . . The characters of Shakespeare are not more exclusively human, not more perfect men and women as they live and move, than are those of this mysterious author.'

It is inconceivable that Scott should have written these words about himself. But the explanation is obvious. Gifford had evidently taken Scott's own precepts to heart, and had 'improved' the article. Feeling that justice had not been done to the unknown author in the two previous articles, and that Scott was not saying as much for him as ought to be said, the editor evidently introduced this passage to redress the balance, little

knowing that he was putting his words of praise into the author's own mouth.*

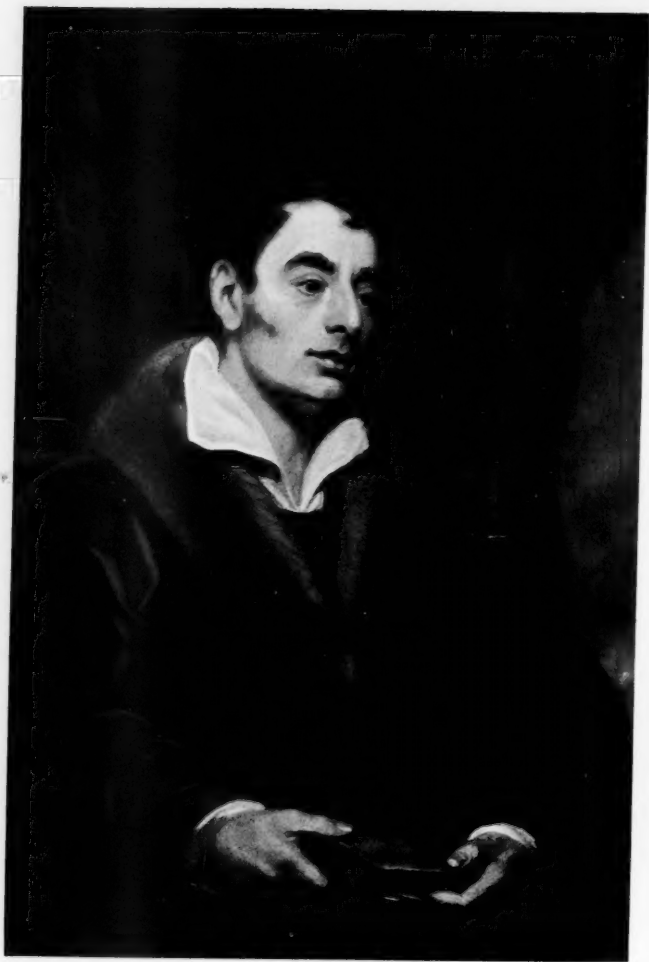
We pass to another of the group of men who helped to start the Review. George Canning was now in his fortieth year. At Eton he had made his mark in literature, as editor of 'The Microcosm,' and had followed this up by his well-known verses in the 'Anti-Jacobin.' Though he began life as a Whig, he became, like others, under the influence of the French Revolution, a decided Tory, while still retaining some Liberal opinions. In the early part of 1809 he was Secretary for Foreign Affairs, under the nominal headship of the Duke of Portland. His position, his principles, and his literary antecedents thus rendered it natural that Scott (with whom he had become intimate in 1806) and Murray should look to him for assistance in regard to political matters. But, in the autumn of 1809, his official career was cut short by his duel with Castlereagh; and, when Portland shortly afterwards resigned, Canning refused to join the Cabinet of his successor Perceval. It was thirteen years before he returned to the post which will ever be connected with his name.

Canning was thus not in a position, during most of his later life, to give exactly the assistance which had been expected; but he contributed to the Review several articles, mostly written in conjunction with his friend Ellis, and inspired others. These include two important papers on Sir J. Sinclair and the Bullion Committee, published in November 1810 and February 1811. The article on 'Spanish Affairs,' published in August 1809, was written by Canning and Ellis. It is the voice of Canning, the disciple of Pitt, which speaks of the Spanish troops, then desperately struggling against Napoleon, as follows:

'If, under all the disadvantages which are enumerated, and truly, as belonging to the present state of Spain, more has been done, and more endured without shrinking, by the Spanish nation, than by any other people in Europe, we ask, what may not be expected of them in proportion as these

* Since this passage was in type, the conjecture has been confirmed by the discovery that Scott's article (the original ms. of which is before us) ends with the words 'bestows her hand on Morton' (p. 466). One (depreciatory) sentence which follows has been omitted by Gifford, who, it would seem, added all the rest.





ROBERT SOUTHEY.

(From a portrait by T. Phillips, R.A., in the possession of Mr Murray.)

[To face p. 745.]

disadvantages may be gradually removed? That the contest will be protracted and its fortune various, is highly probable: that the manner and opportunities of applying our assistance will be to be chosen, according to the exigencies and to the exertions of the Spaniards, is sufficiently obvious: but that Spain may ultimately triumph over the attempts of her oppressor, and that we may still gloriously and successfully aid her efforts for her own deliverance, is not more our prayer, than it is our hope.'

Next on our list of early collaborators comes Robert Southey, perhaps the most industrious and prolific man of letters that England has produced. At the time of which we are speaking he was living at Keswick, the friend and neighbour of Wordsworth, then settled at Grasmere. Literature was his means of livelihood; and the 'many mouths' which (as he said) he had to 'feed out of one inkstand' imposed upon him a life of laborious toil, which, however, his courage and energy and the high ideal of literary work which he always kept before him, prevented from sinking into a mere drudgery. As he wrote to his benefactor, Mr Wynn, 'A healthy body, an active mind, and a cheerful heart, are the three best boons Nature can bestow; and, God be praised, no man ever enjoyed these more perfectly.' Though only thirty-five, he was widely known as a copious and fairly successful writer. Two volumes of 'Minor Poems,' 'Thalaba,' 'Madoc,' some translations from the Spanish, and several other works had already appeared. 'The Curse of Kehama' was to come out in the following year. Like Canning, he had begun life as a Whig; he had even been a Republican: but he was now a Tory of the Tories, and was sorely vexed when his revolutionary drama, 'Wat Tyler,' a work of his youth, was published without his knowledge in 1817.

It was Scott who introduced him to the 'Quarterly,' to which he soon became a regular contributor. He wrote, in all, close on a hundred articles for the Review, in a space of thirty years. He was well paid from the outset, and his rate of payment was soon raised to 100*l.* an article. As he made but little by his books, his receipts from the 'Quarterly' were his chief source of income;*

* Smiles, ii, 264, 387. From his pension and his Laureateship he received 235*l.* a year.

and this no doubt induced him to acquiesce, though not without much grumbling, in the somewhat drastic editorial treatment he received at the hands of Gifford. Southey's articles were frequently too long, and had to be cut down—'mutilated,' as the Laureate complained, or even 'emasculated,' by the omission of what he considered to be the best portions. On the other hand, Gifford had a very high opinion of Southey. 'His prose,' says Gifford, in 1812, 'is so good that every one detects him'; and in 1815 he writes to Murray: 'The great difficulty with me is Southey. . . . But he is, after all, the sheet-anchor of the Review, and should not be lightly hurt.' One of his best-known articles was that on Nelson (February 1810), on which was based his famous 'Life,' published in 1813. Of his articles* on the Poor-Law, Dr Garnett remarks† that they 'exhibit him in the light of a practical statesman who was ahead of public opinion.' This, however, is more than can be said of his political views, especially where the Church was concerned.

Another man of distinction in his day, who was largely instrumental in founding the Review, was George Ellis, the author of an amusing *jeu d'esprit*, the 'Poetical Tales of Sir Gregory Gander' (1778). He was an intimate friend of Scott and Canning, whom he introduced to each other. To him Scott addressed the fifth canto of 'Marmion'; and he was Canning's chief helper in the 'Anti-Jacobin,' to which he contributed the verses entitled 'Acme and Septimius,' beginning:

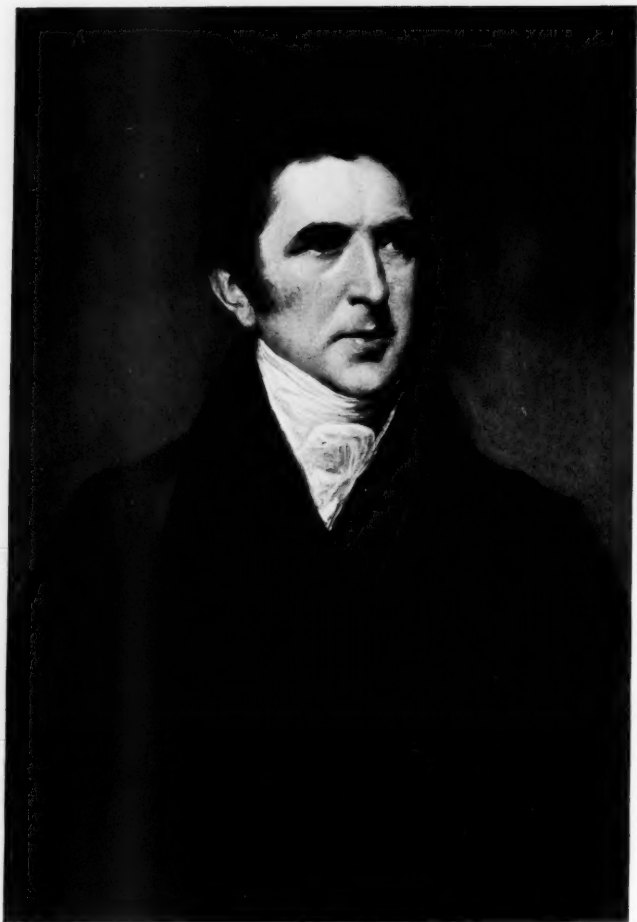
'Fox, with Tooke to grace his side,
Thus addressed his blooming bride—
"Sweet! should I e'er, in power or place,
Another Citizen embrace;
Should e'er my eyes delight to look
On aught alive, save John Horne Tooke,
Doom me to ridicule and ruin,
In the coarse hug of *Indian Bruin*!"'

and many other pieces. Like Canning he had begun as a Whig, and wrote for the 'Rolliad'; and he is said to have been the author of the attack on Pitt, beginning,

* Nos. 16, 23, 29, 36, 37 (1812-1818).

† 'Dict. of Nat. Biography.' A selection of his articles was published in 1831 under the title of 'Essays Moral and Political.'





SIR JOHN BARROW.

(From a portrait by J. Jackson, R.A., in the possession of Mr Murray.)

[To face p. 747.]

'Pert without fire, without experience sage.' But, like Canning and so many others, he had been converted by the French Revolution; and thenceforward to his death, at a comparatively early age, in 1815, he supported the war and the Tories. He had already written a history of the Dutch Revolution of 1785, and had compiled a poetical selection, 'Specimens of the Early English Poets,' which was often reprinted and long held the field. During the six years covered by his connexion with the Review he contributed no less than twenty-eight articles—some being written in collaboration with Canning; and he reviewed 'The Lady of the Lake,' 'Rokeby,' 'The Bridal of Triermain,' and 'The Lord of the Isles,' as well as Byron's 'Corsair.' He was a man of attractive character and distinguished literary taste, and was described by Scott, who was acquainted with all the talkers of his day, as 'the best converser I ever knew.'

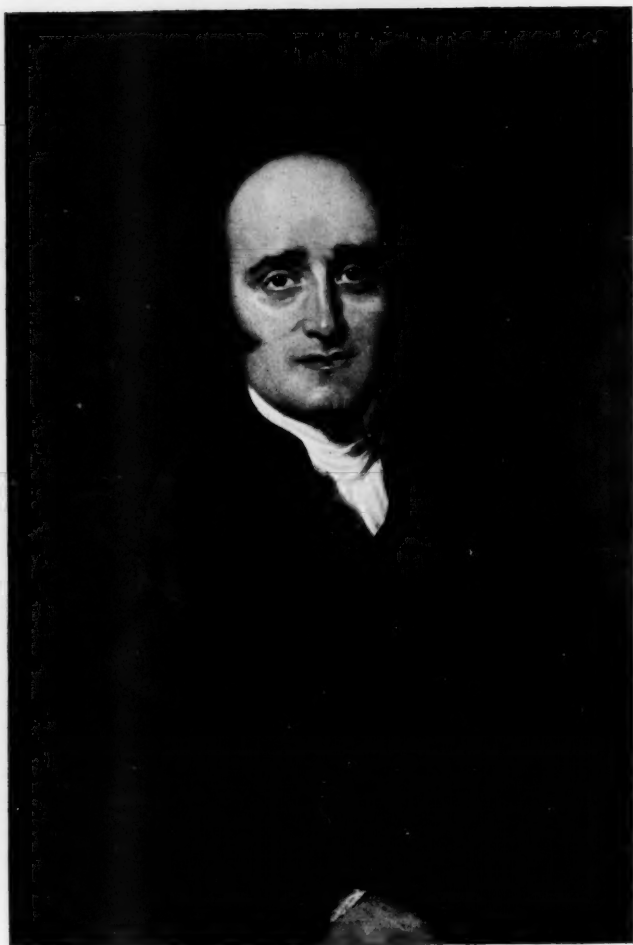
A more voluminous contributor than Ellis, and one whose connexion with the Review lasted far longer, was Sir John Barrow. Born in 1764, of humble parentage, near Ulverston, he got his education at the local grammar-school, and soon showed unusual talent for mathematics and mechanics. After obtaining a place in a Liverpool iron-foundry, he made his first voyage thence to Greenland. Subsequently he became a mathematical assistant at a school at Greenwich, where he taught the son of Sir G. Staunton, who introduced him to Lord Macartney. He accompanied Lord Macartney on his famous embassy to China, and afterwards on his mission to the Cape. These and other voyages, of which his 'Autobiography' gives a modest but very interesting account, with the knowledge of the sea and of distant lands that he acquired, stood him in good stead; for in 1804 Lord Melville, on becoming First Lord of the Admiralty, appointed him Second Secretary—a post which he held for some forty years. In this position he not only controlled the civil administration of the navy, but was able to promote the cause of Arctic discovery. Among other titles to distinction, he was practically the founder of the Royal Geographical Society. He published many 'Lives' and books of travels; and he is said never to have consulted a doctor till he was eighty. His connexion with the 'Quarterly' began with his introduction

to Gifford by Canning in 1809. His name first appears in the list of contributors in the second number of the Review; and for the space of forty years, down to his death in 1848, he continued to contribute largely. He wrote 195 articles in all, his special province being books of travel and accounts of foreign countries.

Of the regular contributors to the Review, none was more constant, none more prominent, than John Wilson Croker. Born in 1780 in Galway, of old Devonshire stock, and educated at Trinity College, Dublin, he joined the English Bar, helped Horace and James Smith to start 'The Cabinet' and 'The Picnic,' and made his first literary ventures, of a satirical nature, with some success. Elected to Parliament in 1807, he was placed in charge of Irish business in Parliament by his life-long friend, Sir Arthur Wellesley, then Chief Secretary. In 1809 he became Secretary to the Admiralty, a post which he retained for twenty-one years. In conjunction with Peel and Palmerston he wrote some clever satirical papers in the 'Courier,' republished in 1815 as 'The Whig Guide.' In 1816 he declined an offer from Lord Liverpool to make him a Privy Councillor; but twelve years later he accepted the honour at the hands of the Duke of Wellington. When the Duke resigned office in 1830, Croker, out of feeling for his chief, gave up his post at the Admiralty. Two years later, when the Duke was attempting to form a Ministry, he pressed Croker to accept a place in the Cabinet; but he declined the high distinction. That the Duke's attempt was hopeless, he probably perceived; but he had resolved to take no further part in public life, on the ground that the assembly to be elected under the Reform Act would 'lead to as complete a subversion of our ancient constitution as the Long Parliament.' In 1834, Sir Robert Peel offered him a place in the Ministry. What had happened in the interval might have somewhat reassured him; but, his resolution once taken, he was not to be moved, and he again refused office.

These facts may suffice to show that Croker was no self-seeking politician. Nor was he, as is not unfrequently assumed, by any means a mere hide-bound Tory. So early as 1807 he supported Catholic Emancipation, and wrote a pamphlet in favour of that measure, which reached a twentieth edition. In 1819 he made an able





THE RT HON. JOHN WILSON CROKER.

(From a portrait after Sir T. Lawrence, P.R.A., in the possession of Mr Murray.)

[To face p. 749.]

speech on behalf of Grattan's motion. He had long foreseen the necessity of moderate parliamentary reform, and 'was of opinion (says his biographer) that timely concessions would prevent unreasonable demands, and . . . were required alike by considerations of justice and the interests of the country.' In 1819 he drew up and presented to Lord Liverpool a memorandum enumerating thirty-three large towns which at that time sent no member to the House of Commons, and proposing that, through the disfranchisement of 'rotten boroughs' and other means, these towns should receive one member each, if not more. In 1830 he urged similar recommendations upon Sir Robert Peel; but he strenuously opposed the sweeping changes subsequently embodied in the Reform Act of 1832.* He supported Peel in his earlier measures of economic reform, but broke with him over the repeal of the Corn Laws. Finally, as an example of his independence of mind, it should be remembered that his connexion with this Review was eventually broken off in January 1854 because he insisted on blaming the Government for allying itself with Napoleon III in the Crimean War. Most men have now come to agree with Croker on this point.

As with his political views, so also in respect of his literary attainments and his personal character, Croker has been unjustly maligned. His knowledge of literature was wide; but his literary judgment was narrow and ultra-conservative. He had a rough tongue; the controversial methods of his day were the reverse of gentle; and he expressed himself, to say the least of it, bluntly. He was, it must be allowed, a strong, even a bitter partisan; and as he never concealed his views, he made enemies, especially among the powerful. He had in particular the misfortune, or the imprudence, to fall foul of Macaulay and Benjamin Disraeli. The former has recorded in his diary† his opinion that Croker was 'a bad, a very bad man; a scandal to politics and to

* It is stated in the 'Croker Papers' (ii, 198) that Croker first introduced the appellation 'Conservative' for the Tory party, in an article published in the 'Quarterly Review' in 1831. It occurs near the close of an article on 'The State of the British Empire,' in No. 87 (January 1831). But that article is by John Miller, not by Croker.

† 'Life and Letters,' cap. xii, s.d. April 13, 1849.

letters'; and Disraeli is supposed to have pilloried him as 'Rigby.'

No man is exempt from prejudice and personal feeling; and those who readily assume the justice of these charges should remember that few great men have been less exempt than these two accusers. 'Why Mr Disraeli hated Croker so bitterly it would scarcely be worth while (says Mr Jennings) now to discuss; enough that there were reasons for it, although they were not good reasons; and we need not the evidence of Mr Croker's case to attest that Mr Disraeli paid off his personal grudges with no niggard hand.' Disraeli fancied that Croker had crossed some of his literary projects, and had attacked him in the 'Quarterly Review.' 'In reality Mr Croker had at that time never written a single line against or about him.' We may set against the son's caricature what his father wrote about the same man. 'To my ever kind and valued friend, the Right Hon. J. W. Croker' (writes Isaac D'Israeli in his 'Commentaries on Charles I'), 'whose luminous and acute intelligence is as remarkable in his love of literature and art as it has been in the course of a long, honourable, and distinguished public life, I stand deeply indebted.'

It has been represented that Croker, in retaliation for 'Rigby,' made 'a fierce, desperate, and malignant attack' on Disraeli in an article in the 'Quarterly,' published in December 1852. Those who repeat this assertion can hardly have read the article in question. Croker writes thus of his opponent:

'No one, of whatever political creed, can now affect to doubt or disparage the many high parliamentary qualities of Mr Disraeli. His resolute spirit has been conspicuously displayed under very extraordinary difficulties. He has combined an indomitable perseverance with great fertility of resource. In opposition he has been, and, if he does himself justice, he must again be, most formidably influential. He may yet acquire whatever he needs for the discharge of the high functions of a Minister. He has shown himself at once a brilliant orator, and, what is still rarer, a powerful debater; but he has not as yet, we think, earned the reputation of a statesman.'

With Macaulay the cause of offence is clearer. In the first place, Croker had repeatedly countered him on the

floor of the House; and, on one occasion in particular, during the debates of 1832, with marked success. This was more than Macaulay could stand. Knowing that Croker was about to publish his edition of Boswell's 'Johnson,' Macaulay wrote in his diary ('Life,' cap. iv):

'That impudent, leering Croker congratulated the House on the proof I had given of my readiness. See whether I do not dust that varlet's jacket for him in the next number of the "Blue and Yellow." I detest him more than cold boiled veal.'

He was as good as his word. Two months later the review appeared; and Croker's jacket was thoroughly dusted. In a letter to his sister Hannah, dated Sept. 9, 1831, Macaulay writes: 'I have, though I say it who should not say it, beaten Croker black and blue.' He should have been ashamed to say it. What are we to think of a review written in this spirit? Into the merits of Croker's work we need not enter; it is sufficient to say that, with all its faults, the learning and industry which it displayed merited very different treatment.* 'Everybody is aware' (said the 'Athenæum') 'that the article was originally levelled less against Mr Croker the editor than Mr Croker the politician'; and Gladstone, many years later, when he had long been on Macaulay's side in politics, in the last article that he contributed to the 'Quarterly,'† remarks on the whole episode:

'There is a parliamentary tradition, sufficiently well established, that Croker assailed, and assailed on the instant, some of Macaulay's celebrated speeches on Reform, and with no inconsiderable effect. But he never mentions Croker except with an aversion which may be partially understood, and also with a contempt which it is not easy to account for. . . . It is yet more to be lamented that, in this instance, he carried the passions of politics into the Elysian fields of literature; and that the scales in which he tried the merits of Croker's edition of 'Boswell' seem to have been weighted, on the descending side, with his recollections of parliamentary collision.'

* Mr Birkbeck Hill, Boswell's latest editor, while severe on Croker's defects and blunders, says, 'I should be wanting in justice were I not to acknowledge that I owe much to the labours of Mr Croker. . . . He has added considerably to our knowledge of Johnson . . . he gathered much that, but for his care, would have been lost for ever. He was diligent and successful in his search for Johnson's letters.'

† On the 'Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay,' No. 283, (July 1876).

In the second place, some eighteen years after Macaulay had reviewed Croker's 'Boswell,' Croker had an opportunity of retaliating with a review of Macaulay's 'History.' There was now another jacket to be dusted; and the dusting was done, it must be allowed, with equal gusto and with hardly less bias. Croker was human, very human; and to maintain a perfectly impartial attitude towards a man who had injured him would have required more forbearance than he possessed. Into the value of his criticisms this is not the place to enter; he certainly overstated his case, as Macaulay had done; but it does not follow that the article was what Macaulay's biographer calls it, 'a farrago of angry trash.' Croker found many faults in the 'History'; but he is not the only man, nor the only man of authority, who has done so. Those who have read Paget's 'New Examen'* are acquainted with some of the charges which have been proved. But let us call a better-known witness. Discussing Macaulay's account of the English Church under Charles II, Gladstone, in the above-mentioned article, says: 'With respect to the children of the clergy, as a general rule, Macaulay's statement . . . is no more and no less than a pure fable.' And again:

'Lord Macaulay's charges of a menial condition and its accompaniments, against the clergy of the Restoration period, generally and miserably break down. In no instance are they tolerably supported by positive evidence; in many they are absolutely confuted and annihilated. Not indeed that he was absolutely and wholly wrong in any point, but that he was wrong in every point by omission and exaggeration.'

Lockhart, writing to Croker, before the latter wrote his review, said:† 'I doubt if Macaulay's book will go down as a standard addition to our historical library, though it must always keep a high place among the specimens of English rhetoric.' Sir James Stephen told Bishop Phillpotts that he 'had abandoned all idea of reviewing the book [in the 'Edinburgh'], because it was, in truth, not what it pretended to be, a history, but an historical novel.'‡ Croker, in his article, summed up by saying that the book must be regarded chiefly as 'an

* Reprinted in 'Paradoxes and Puzzles' (Blackwood, 1874).

† 'Croker Papers,' III, 192.

‡ *Ib.* p. 194.

historical romance,' and would 'never be quoted as an authority on any question or point of the history of England.' There is little difference between Croker and Gladstone. While fully alive to the great qualities which will ensure to Macaulay's 'History' a permanent place in our literature so long as that literature exists, Gladstone declared that 'his whole method of touch and handling are poetical'; and what was his opinion of it as an 'authority' we have seen.

It is clear then that, if Croker erred in finding fault, he erred in good company. But, whatever view we take of his attack, nothing can excuse the unwarranted expressions which Macaulay threw upon his private life, and which Macaulay's biographer has amplified by reference to 'certain unsavoury portions' of that life which 'had been brought to light in the course of either parliamentary or judicial investigations.' His private life, so far as has been ascertained, was blameless. 'Nothing whatever (says Mr Jennings) that was injurious to Mr Croker's private character was ever brought to light in a parliamentary or any other investigation.' The friendships with great men of unblemished character which he retained to the end of his life are a sufficient answer to the charge. With the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel he was on terms of the closest intimacy for many years. The Duke's confidential conversations with him are scattered up and down the pages of the 'Croker Papers.' With Peel his friendship was broken off only through Croker's disagreement with him on the subject of the Corn Laws; and there is plenty of evidence that the breach inflicted on Croker's affectionate nature a bitter pang. Scott and Barrow were on similar terms with him. Tom Moore and Lord Hardwicke sign their letters to him 'ever yours' and 'yours affectionately.' The Duke of Rutland, Lord John Manners, Sir Thomas Lawrence, Lord Aberdeen, Guizot, the Duc d'Aumâle, Dean Trench, Sir George Sinclair, Lord Lyndhurst, Lord Strangford, Lord Palmerston, Lord Hatherton, were (as is evident from their correspondence) his close personal friends. The man who in 1823 founded the Athenæum Club, and selected the original committee, must have been regarded with general respect. The man who, in 1816, perceived the value of the Elgin Marbles, and, by the

testimony of Lord Elgin, had the chief hand in obtaining them for the nation, was clearly not without artistic culture. The publicist whose essays on the French Revolution are still a valuable authority, and whose vast collection of pamphlets on that subject is amongst the chief treasures of the British Museum, merits some respect as an historian. Those who assert, with Macaulay, that such a one was 'a bad, a very bad man' (above p. 749), will have some difficulty in upholding their contention. No action for libel lies against the dead, nor can such an action be brought in their behalf; but this does not justify the perpetuation of a libellous remark which, had both the parties been alive, would have involved the utterer of it in heavy damages.

As a critic of prose writings, or of any work in which reason predominates and accuracy of statement is essential, Croker was acute and discriminating, if inclined to be severe. In the matter of poetry, he was apt to be narrow and unsympathetic. Admiring, among his contemporaries, Byron and Scott, he demanded above all things clearness and simplicity. The refinements of versification had no charm for him; to the witchery of words he turned a deaf ear. In short, though some poetry was within his range, he was a thoroughly unpoetical person; and a worse choice could hardly have been made for a review of the poets' poet, Keats. His notice of 'Endymion' appeared in April 1818, and is perhaps the most notorious article ever published in the *Quarterly Review*. This is probably due to the fact that Keats' death—he died three years later, of consumption—has been attributed to the effects of the attack* in the '*Quarterly*,' acting upon a morbid and hypersensitive organisation—a belief doubtless strengthened, if not originated, by Byron's well-known lines in '*Don Juan*' (canto xi, st. 60):

'Tis strange, the mind, that very fiery particle,
Should let itself be snuffed out by an article,'

and supported by the 'elegy,' as Byron calls it,† which Shelley composed on the same subject:

* Mr Colvin, in his '*Life of Keats*' ('Men of Letters' series), makes it clear that this and other still severer criticisms had much less effect on Keats than is generally imagined.

† Byron's '*Letters*,' v, 331, s.d. July 30, 1821.

"Who killed John Keats?"

"I," says the Quarterly,
So savage and Tartarly,
"Twas one of my feats."

"Who shot the arrow?"

The poet-priest Milman
So ready to kill man,
Or Southey, or Barrow."

The article in question is a short essay of only four pages. It should be noted that the review is limited to the 'Endymion,' which, by common consent, contains more of Keats' defects and eccentricities, and less of his essential beauties, than any other of his considerable works. The critic confesses that he has only read the first book, and is unable to understand a word of it; he was probably right in supposing that he would get no more light from the other three. The first book is enough, in his opinion, to prove three things—that the verses mean nothing; that they are often bad verses; and that they contain a number of newfangled words, or words used in improper ways, tending to perversion of the language. In support of the two last charges, at all events, he gives illustrations which, it must be confessed, go far to convict the culprit. Nor is his blame unmingled:

'It is not (he says) that the author has not powers of language, rays of fancy, and gleams of genius—he has all these; but he is unhappily a disciple of the new school of what has been somewhere called Cockney poetry; which may be defined to consist of the most incongruous ideas in the most uncouth language.'

It is a pity that he did not more clearly appreciate, and give credit for, these 'rays of fancy' and 'gleams of genius.' It is, in fact, not so much in what it says, as in what it does not say, that the article goes wrong. Common-sense is applied as the only criterion of poetry. For the real and deeper beauties of the poem Croker had neither eye nor ear; he could only see its superficial defects. He could not rise above the critical manners of his time; and the criticism of the day, if hostile, was habitually brutal. Jeffrey in the 'Edinburgh,'* Lockhart and others in 'Blackwood,' were not a whit behind

* See the article on Coleridge's 'Christabel' (September 1816), in which Jeffrey says that the work 'has not one couplet which could be reckoned poetry were it found in the corner of a newspaper.' And Coleridge himself (in 'Biographia Literaria') calls Maturin's 'Bertram' a 'superfetation of blasphemy upon nonsense.'

Croker in brutality. In the 'Quarterly' itself there appeared, a little later than this (Oct. 1821), an article, by a Mr Walker, of Cambridge, on Shelley's 'Prometheus Unbound,' which far exceeds Croker's in severity. Here again it is the common-sense view which is taken. 'The predominating character of Mr Shelley's poetry' (says the critic) 'is want of meaning.' He then quotes some lines as a proof of this, and continues: 'This *galimatias* (for it goes far beyond simple nonsense) is rivalled by the following.' Will it be believed that what follows is 'The Cloud'? In another place he prints a passage of blank verse as prose, and then triumphantly proclaims that his readers 'will probably perceive that Mr Shelley's poetry is, in sober sadness, drivelling prose run mad.' Finally, we come to the real gravamen—and a serious one, it must be allowed. Shelley pours contempt on religion and even attacks Christianity. The blasphemies we may indeed resent, deplore, and condemn; but it does not follow that Shelley was no poet.*

But to return to Croker, on whose character and opinions we have dwelt at some length, because the charges made against him in some measure affect the Review of which he was, for nearly half a century, the chief supporter. Few men can have left so deep a mark on the journalism of their day. From 1809 to 1854 he was connected with the 'Quarterly'; from 1811 onwards, except for a brief interval between 1825 and 1831, he wrote regularly for it; and he contributed, in all, at least 258 articles to the Review. He wrote on all sorts of subjects, but, during the first twenty years, very little on politics. Nor did he wish to emphasise the political character of the 'Quarterly.' 'Murray well knows' (he says in a letter to Lockhart† (1834)) 'that I never was a friend to making the Review a political engine. . . . Neither politics nor trifles can make a sufficient substratum and foundation; solid literature and science must be the substance.' Nevertheless, whenever he had

* Another article, on Shelley's 'Revolt of Islam,' by J. T. Coleridge, is more temperate. The writer finds 'some beautiful stanzas,' but rightly condemns his bad principles, especially his advocacy of 'lawless love.'

† 'Croker Papers,' ii, 229. In the 'Quarterly Review,' No. 233 (July 1876), will be found a general summary of Croker's life by the then editor, Sir W. Smith.

a chance—and he had many—he took care that the political flavour of the Review should at least be pronounced. In 1854, shortly after Elwin had taken over the editorship, he ceased writing for the Review, for the reason already stated (p. 749). His death, which was sudden and painless, followed three years later.

Among the occasional contributors in the early days of the Review should be included Hoppner, the painter; Sharon Turner, the historian; Robert Grant, author of several works on Indian government, and his brother Charles, Lord Glenelg; Isaac D'Israeli; Reginald Heber, Bishop of Calcutta, and his elder brother Richard, the friend of Scott; Prof. Monk, editor of the 'Hippolytus'; C. J. Blomfield, afterwards Bishop of London; John Ireland, Dean of Westminster, founder of the famous scholarships at Oxford; Francis Cohen, better known as Sir Francis Palgrave, the historian; Henry Hallam; W. R. Lyall, Dean of Canterbury; Henry Phillpotts, afterwards Bishop of Exeter; John Taylor Coleridge; Sir John Malcolm, the ambassador to Persia; Richard Whately, afterwards Archbishop of Dublin; Ugo Foscolo, who called his house 'Digamma Cottage,' after the subject of one of his articles; Stratford Canning, the 'Great Eltchi' of Constantinople; Sir T. Stamford Raffles, Governor of Java; T. R. Malthus, author of the 'Essay on Population'; John Keble; H. H. Milman, Dean of St Paul's, and historian of Latin Christianity; Rev. J. J. Blunt, whose 'Undesigned Coincidences' was long a favourite work; Nassau W. Senior, the economist; Blanco White, author of the sonnet on 'Night and Death,' which Coleridge extravagantly pronounced the finest in the language; Sir Charles Lyell; Captain Basil Hall, the well-known voyager; Sir Francis Head, Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada; Sir David Brewster; Washington Irving—but we must stop, or the line would stretch to the crack of doom. The names given above, all taken from the first twenty years of the 'Quarterly,' will show, however, that from the outset the regular 'staff' of the Review, if such it may be called, was supplemented by men who could write on particular subjects with special authority.

The editorial reign of William Gifford lasted for fifteen years (1809–1824). When he gave up control, the

success of the Review was secure; but, for some years after its commencement it had been an uphill fight. The first number was disappointing. Hardly sufficient time had been allowed for its preparation; and it contained nothing calculated to attract or startle the public mind. Still, it is not the first number of a new Review that matters; it is the second or third. But the second and third, in this case, were not very different from the first; and the second, moreover, was six weeks late. So was the third; so indeed were almost all the numbers edited by Gifford. Murray was almost in despair. 'We are going on very indifferently,' he wrote. But he bestirred himself actively to obtain the services of good writers, and in other ways to push the Review. In fact he seems, even at this date, to have done a large part of the editor's work; not indeed in revising the articles, for in this he never interfered, but in determining the subjects, enlisting authors, etc. Success came slowly. Ellis told Gifford plainly that the third number was 'most notoriously and unequivocally dull.' The fourth, however, showed distinct improvement. One of its articles, on Charles Fox, by Robert Grant, was the first, according to Murray, to attract general attention. What seems now most remarkable in this paper is that the new Tory organ surveys the character of the great Whig leader with impartiality and even friendliness.

'As, on the one hand' (says the writer), 'Mr Pitt's whole life shows that, although the chosen champion of the monarchy, he was not the less zealous, both from principle and from sentiment, in upholding the just rights of parliament and of the people; so it must be admitted, on the other hand, by every impartial man, that the whole tenour of Mr Fox's conduct, while in the government . . . afforded a fair presumption that the honour and interests of the Crown would not have been unsafe in his hands.'

In 1812 Murray had transferred his business from Fleet Street to the historic house, 50 Albemarle Street, which has been its home ever since that day. The move to a quarter within easy reach of the clubs, the courts, the Houses of Parliament, and the dwelling-places of most public men, was beneficial not only to the publishing business in general, but in particular to the Quarterly

Review. Murray's drawing-room, especially in the days before the Athenæum was founded, and for some time afterwards, was the haunt of many men distinguished in politics and letters. There Scott and Byron first made acquaintance. There George Ticknor, fresh from Boston, met on one occasion Moore, Campbell, D'Israeli, Theodore Hook, Gifford, Humphry Davy, Hallam, and others. Canning, Frere, Mackintosh, besides the regular writers in the Review, are enumerated by Murray himself among his habitual visitors. Mrs Bray, the novelist, relates in 1819 'that Mr Murray held daily, from about three to five o'clock, a literary levée at his house.' 'Murray's drawing-room (says Washington Irving) is a great resort of first-rate literary characters.' The literary circle which Murray succeeded in collecting round him supplied many contributors to the Review and spread abroad its fame.

Meanwhile, however, the arrears of publication grew worse than ever; the number due in October 1815 was published in March 1816, that due in January 1816 in the following May. Numbers 57-59 (1823) were four, five, and six months late respectively. But an irregularity which would destroy any Review in the present day was tolerated when there was practically no competition, except from the 'Edinburgh'; and the excellence of the matter made some amends. The circulation rapidly improved. In 1815 it reached 9000; next year it jumped to 12,000; in 1819 it attained 14,000, at a time when, according to Prof. Wilson,* the 'Edinburgh' had sunk to half that figure.

Gifford, as editor, took a serious view of the responsibilities of his position, and held a high opinion of his rights. He wrote little himself;† on the other hand, he bestowed on the productions of his contributors a minute and laborious attention which, naturally enough, was by no means always to their taste. It is clear from his correspondence that he dealt in a high-handed way with the work submitted to him, and not only with the work of inferior authors, but with that of such accomplished

* In 'Blackwood's Magazine'; see 'Memoir of John Murray,' i, 495.

† Smiles ('Memoir,' i, 200) says that Gifford wrote only one 'entire article,' that on 'Ford's Dramatic Works' (No. 12); but he is credited in the register with some eight or nine, and he appears to have been joint author of at least as many more.

writers as Southey, Croker, and Barrow. Reference has already been made to Southey's complaints; but in general it appears to have been recognised that Gifford's operations, if sometimes annoying, conduced largely to the success of the Review. Writing to Blackwood in 1818, Murray says: 'One great advantage of the editor [Gifford] is that he does not write; but what he does do is equal in value to writing half the number.'

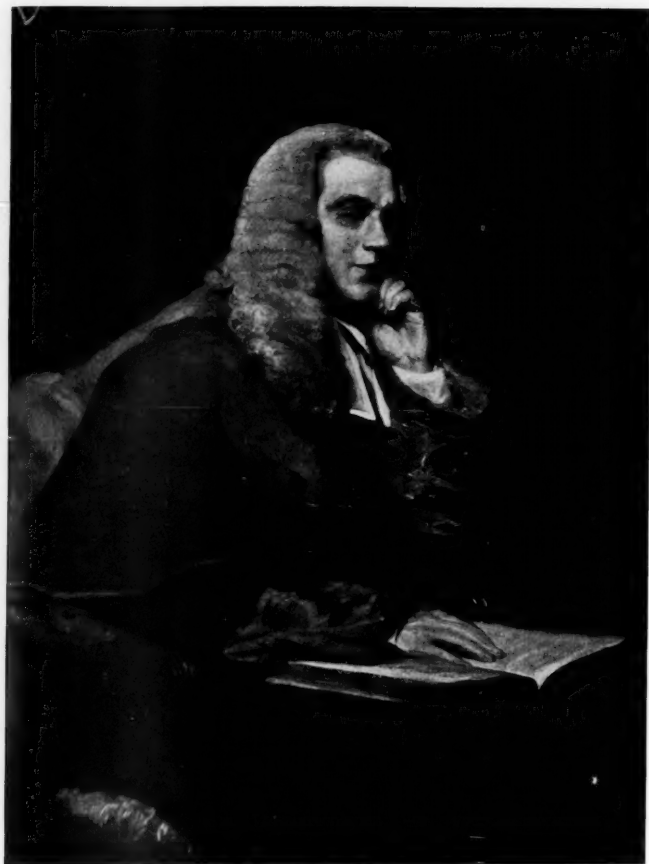
One of the most remarkable characteristics of the Review during Gifford's editorship is the paucity of articles on foreign politics and (during the first six years) on the war. It is hardly credible that the Peninsular War should have escaped notice after 1809.* There is nothing on the Austrian campaign of that year, nothing on the war with America (1812-14), nothing on the battle of Leipzig and its consequences, nothing on the first or second Peace of Paris or the Congress of Vienna. Even the battle of Waterloo passes unnoticed, except incidentally; and the death of Napoleon stirs no contributor to a review of his marvellous career. No doubt the fact that all articles at this time were, ostensibly at least, reviews of books or papers, accounts for some strange omissions. But it would seem that the long struggle with France ended by boring the public. They took it as a disagreeable necessity, but as something not to be talked about.

Gifford's health, always unsatisfactory, seems to have grown worse about 1816. Always persecuted by asthma, he now began to suffer from jaundice and other ailments. Time after time he was on the point of resigning his editorial duties, which, indeed, he could not have discharged without the help of Croker, Barrow, and especially Murray; but he gallantly struggled on for eight years more. In 1823 a crisis was evidently approaching. Gifford became so ill that he actually allowed an article of Southey's to pass without 'mutilation.' In 1824 only two numbers of the Review appeared. In September of that year the editor resigned. Two years later, on the last day of 1826, he died.

'Gifford' (says Smiles) 'has earned, but it is now generally recognised that he has unjustly earned, the character of a

* It is discussed, of course, in Southey's two articles on Wellington; but these did not appear till 1815.





SIR JOHN TAYLOR COLERIDGE.
(From a painting by Mrs Carpenter.)

[To face p. 761.]

severe, if not a bitter critic. . . . His critical temper, however, was in truth exceptionally equable; regarding it as his duty to encourage all that was good and elevating, and relentlessly to denounce all that was bad or tended to lower the tone of literature, he conscientiously acted up to the standard by which he judged others, and never allowed personal feeling to intrude upon his official judgments. . . . Gifford took no notice of the ferocious attacks made upon him by Hunt and Hazlitt. Holding, as he did, that inviolable secrecy was one of the prime functions of an editor—though the practice has since become very different—he never attempted to vindicate himself, or to reveal the secret as to the writers of the reviews. . . . In society, of which he saw but little, except at Mr Murray's, he was very entertaining. He told a story remarkably well. . . . He had never been married; but although he had no children, he had an exceeding love for them. When well, he delighted in giving juvenile parties, and rejoiced at seeing the children frisking about in the happiness of youth—a contrast which threw the misery of his own early life into strange relief.' ('Memoir of J. M.,' ii, 175-7.)

Gifford's successor was John Taylor Coleridge, a nephew of the poet, who had been recommended to Murray by Southey so far back as 1822. Born in 1790, he was educated at Eton as a 'King's Scholar,' and passed thence to Corpus, Oxford, where he was the contemporary and intimate friend of Keble. After a distinguished career at the university, he was called to the Bar in 1819. Some five years before this he had begun to contribute to the 'Quarterly'; and he wrote about a dozen articles in all. In 1824 his professional prospects were already so good that he had some hesitation in accepting the post of editor; and his practice increased so rapidly that two years later he was forced to abandon the chair. Though gifted with a distinct talent for literature, he wrote nothing that has survived except his short, and somewhat slight, 'Life of Keble.' Handsome, like others of his family, and courtly in manner, he was a distinguished figure, and lived to a great age, dying in 1876.

The short period of his editorship—which seems to have been regarded at the time as likely to be only a stop-gap—is not marked by any distinctive features. It was under him, however, that Keble contributed his single article to the Review on Conder's 'Sacred Poetry' (June 1825). Of the book itself, little is said; it was

merely to serve as a 'peg.' Conder having been briefly, but not unkindly, dismissed, the author of 'The Christian Year' proceeds to discuss sacred poetry, particularly in English literature. His conclusion would have given great pleasure to Ruskin. It runs as follows :

'To Spenser, upon the whole, the English reader must revert, as being, pre-eminently, the sacred poet of his country ; as most likely, in every way, to answer the purposes of his art, especially in an age of excitation and refinement, in which the gentler and more homely beauties, both of character and of scenery, are too apt to be despised ; with passion and interest enough to attract the most ardent, and grace enough to win the most polished ; yet by a silent preference everywhere inculcating the love of better and more enduring things ; and so most exactly fulfilling what he has himself declared to be "the general end of all his book—to fashion a gentleman, or noble person, in virtuous and gentle discipline."'

Coleridge's editorship ended with his resignation in 1826 ; and the long reign of John Gibson Lockhart began. How Murray became acquainted with Lockhart is not clear ; but Mr Lang seems to have shown that Scott had nothing to do with his appointment. Scott himself believed it was through Canning, with whom Lockhart was already acquainted. Murray might, indeed, have hit on his man by the light of his unaided judgment ; for Lockhart already held a distinguished position in the world of letters. Born in 1794, of good family on both sides, he matriculated at Glasgow University in his twelfth year, and went up to Balliol with a Snell exhibition in 1809. At Oxford he read—not too hard ; but that he was not idle is shown by his getting a First in 1813. He also studied Italian and drew caricatures. But he did not get a fellowship. It used to be said at the time, though it can be said no longer, 'No Scot need apply.' From Oxford Lockhart returned to Glasgow, but two years later settled in Edinburgh to read for the Scottish Bar. Letters, however, had more attraction for him than the law ; and the foundation of 'Blackwood's Magazine,' in 1817, gave him his first chance. Along with John Wilson ('Christopher North'), Hogg, De Quincey, and a few others, Lockhart gave 'Maga' a brilliant start. It was he who (in No. 7 of 'Blackwood,' Oct. 1817) fixed the opprobrious title, 'The Cockney





JOHN GIBSON LOCKHART.

(From a drawing by D. Maclise, R.A., in the possession of Mr Murray.)

[To face p. 763.]

School,' on Leigh Hunt and his friends. In politics he was a moderate Tory, but no partisan. His political independence is attested by his protest in 'Maga' (March 1818) against the prevalent views about Napoleon :

'Nations yet to come will look back upon his history as to some grand and supernatural romance. The fiery energy of his youthful career, and the magnificent progress of his irresistible ambition, have invested his character with the mysterious grandeur of some heavenly appearance; and, when all the lesser tumults, and all the lesser men, of our age shall have passed away into the darkness of oblivion, history will still inscribe one mighty era with the majestic name of Napoleon.'

In 'Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk' (1819) he scoffs at most of his contemporaries, especially Jeffrey, with his 'This will never do' about Wordsworth, but praises Wilson and idolises Goethe. The 'Letters' were followed, in rapid succession, by several novels, of which, according to Mr Lang, 'Adam Blair' (1822) is the best; an edition of 'Don Quixote,' prefaced by a life of Cervantes; and the translations of 'Spanish Ballads' (1823), probably after his 'Life of Scott,' his best-known work. In 1820 he had married the daughter of Scott. A great future seemed to be within his reach; but he had little ambition. There was, indeed, a retiring and melancholy side to his nature, not incompatible with great intellectual vivacity and occasional high spirits. In society he was shy, and therefore sometimes deemed aloof, even haughty; he calls himself 'the shyest man alive.' This trait was partly due to his deafness; but it also came from a deeper cause. Such was the man who now, at the age of thirty-two, took charge of the 'Quarterly.'

He was not long in asserting himself. Southey had warned Murray, two years before, that 'no future editor, be he who he may, must expect to exercise the same discretion over my papers which Mr Gifford has done.' But his incorrigible prolixity required a drastic remedy; and, on the first article that Southey sent in, Lockhart played the Atropos with his 'accursed shears' so vigorously that the Laureate declared his essay to have been 'much injured at the beginning, in the middle, and all through.' As before, however, he grumbled and sat still. With Croker, too, the new editor had similar trouble;

but he held his own with courtesy and firmness. Mr Lang says that Lockhart was 'a constitutional monarch in Albemarle Street.' His position was rather that of a Prime Minister, strongly backed by the sovereign—Murray—in the background. It was a pity, however, that he did not assert himself more strongly in regard to the political tone of the Review. On one of the great questions of the time, Catholic Emancipation, he allowed Southey to have his say, though it is obvious that the poet, buried in a remote corner of Westmorland, had but little chance of hearing both sides, or of applying the test of facts to his ultra-Tory opinions. What his views were may be gathered from the following extract:

'Does then the consistent Protestant look forward to no time at which the State may safely disregard religious differences, and admit the Roman Catholics to an equal share of political power with their fellow subjects? Not while the Roman Catholics remain what they are, while their creed binds them to their canons, and their canons bind them to a persecuting spirit, and instruct them that faith is not to be kept with heretics. Not while the clergy swear allegiance to the See of Rome. Not while the Church of Rome claims to itself the attribute of infallibility, and proclaims that salvation is exclusively confined to those who are of its fold. . . . The single security that might afford a pretext for admitting them into the legislature, would be that which might be offered by a General Council, which should revoke certain doctrines as formally and authentically as they were decreed at Trent, at Constance, and in the Lateran.' (No. 76, Oct. 1828.)

Lockhart was averse from entrusting Southey with political articles. 'For the actual bustle of passing politics' (he writes to Murray) 'his is not the hand.' He entrusted them, generally speaking, to Croker; and Croker's views, as he grew older, did not become more flexible.

After the second reading of the first Reform Bill had been carried by a majority of one, John Miller, writing in the 'Quarterly' (No. 89, April 1831), expressed his horror that Ministers 'are about to consummate their career of imbecility and madness by resorting to the awful step of a dissolution of Parliament.' The dissolution came; and a strong Reform majority was the result. Croker now took up the cudgels. In July 1831 (No. 90) he is found declaring that 'the minority in the Commons

will do its duty; but, if it should be unable to reject, or even to delay, the fatal Bill, the Lords will not be wanting in theirs'; and he exhorts the Upper House to follow the barons of old in proclaiming the principle '*Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari.*' In October the Lords rejected the Bill. 'The House of Lords' (rejoices Croker, Nov. 1831) 'has, as we anticipated, done its duty. It has vindicated its own constitutional rights, and has, for a season at least, arrested the progress of the revolution.' But the Ministry was resolved; the Bill passed the Commons; signs of wavering became evident in the Upper House. In March 1832 (No. 93) Croker urges the Lords to stand firm; whatever the results, they must act on their consciences, and 'at least preserve their character and the honour of their order.' Fortunately for the country they declined the advice; and in June the Bill became law. The struggle was over; Croker could only wring his hands and foretell the awful consequences. In July 1832 (No. 94) he announces that 'all respect for the monarchy is gone, the independence of the House of Lords annihilated; and that Power which calls itself the People exercises uncontrolled all the real authority of the State.' A revolution is in rapid progress; but there is one consolation. It will end as that of 1648 did in 1660.

'As certainly shall we, or our children, see the Revolution of 1832, with all its consequences, however fatal or extensive they may be, terminate its execrated career in another more joyful and triumphant Restoration.'

It would not be worth while to reproduce these lamentations and forebodings, but that they may serve as a warning against over-confidence in political prophecy. It need hardly be said that the anticipations of a new heaven and a new earth, to be born from the Reform Act, were doomed to almost equal disappointment. The Reformed Parliament set to work, vigorously enough. Many Acts were passed, some of which, as the new Poor-Law, were approved by the 'Quarterly,' while others, as the Municipal Reform Act, were reprehended. But the revolution which had been foretold did not take place. The Crown, the House of Lords, the Church, remained as they were. Neither hopes nor fears were realised. The ultimate benefits of reform were doubtless great;

the immediate effect was less apparent. Discontent followed elation. The flowing Whig tide slackened, stopped, finally ebbcd; and the Tories again came into power. It was a change naturally welcome to the 'Quarterly,' which had praised the Tamworth Manifesto in 1835, and supported Sir Robert Peel throughout. In 1841 Croker is unable to dine out, being—so he describes himself—'as busy as a wasp,' attacking the Whigs.

Great things were hoped from Peel's administration; and his first steps in the direction of Free-trade were approved even by Croker. But in 1845 there came a change; and the Premier's conversion to the cause of Corn Law Repeal made (as we have already seen) a breach between the friends which was not to be healed. When Lord John Russell announced his conversion to free trade in corn, Croker denounces him in unmeasured language, and exclaims:

'The short issue is Protection or no Protection; protection to wages as well as to rents; protection to cottons and woollens as well as to wheat and oats; protection to the town as well as to the country, to the workshop as to the farm—or RUIN TO ALL.'

This has, somehow, a familiar ring. There is work here for the Psychical Society. The spirit of Croker seems to have reappeared in Birmingham.

In the following year the blow fell. More in sorrow than in anger the 'Quarterly' turns upon its old leader.

'We speak of Sir R. Peel's share in the whole of this unhappy affair with the deepest pain. . . . We had given him, throughout his administration, a cordial, disinterested, and, to the best of our power, efficient support. . . . He has changed his opinions; we have not. He has even run into the adverse extreme, and we must oppose him.'

Untaught by the failure of those dismal prophecies about the 'Revolution' of 1832, or regarding the repeal of the Corn Laws as one of its disastrous results, the Review (No. 156, Oct. 1846) anticipated yet more direful consequences as likely to flow from 'the policy indicated by Sir Robert Peel, and likely to be pursued by Lord John Russell.' Among these are enumerated a general confiscation of property by graduated taxation, the abolition of Church establishments, the application of all ecclesiastical

revenues to latitudinarian purposes, extended franchises in Ireland, and repeal of the Union. The interest on the National Debt would cease to be paid in cash. Primogeniture and the peerage, and 'the costly superfluity of a Court and Civil List,' would probably disappear. 'Thus we should glide, possibly quietly, by due course of law . . . into a national bankruptcy, and a republic of the American fashion.'* These shocking results of Free-trade have not, so far, been realised; but in regard to his support of Protection, it looks now as if the whirligig of time may yet perhaps bring Croker his revenge.

But enough of politics, these 'old, forgotten, far-off things, and battles long ago.' More attractive features are presented by the criticism of literature and other subjects which appeared during Lockhart's editorship. It could never be said of the 'Quarterly' that its articles were the product of a regular 'staff'; but during the thirties and early forties, at all events, there is more appearance of such a system than at any other epoch in its existence.† Of Gifford's colleagues, several continued to write for his successor—Scott, till his death in 1832; Southey, till 1839 (he died four years later); Barrow, till his death in 1848; Croker, till 1854; H. H. Milman, who became a very intimate friend of Lockhart's; J. J. Blunt; Washington Irving; Sir F. Palgrave, and a few more.

Other regular writers were, first and foremost, Lockhart himself, who in this respect departed from Gifford's precedent, contributing more than a hundred articles in twenty-eight years; Abraham Hayward, who began writing in 1834, and wrote, during a space of nearly fifty years, some eighty articles in the Review; G. Poulet Scrope, economist and geologist; Rev. G. R. Gleig, Chaplain-General of the forces, and author of a 'Life of

* This article, notes Murray in the register, was a composite affair. It was written by Croker; but Brougham, Stanley (afterwards Lord Derby), and Ashburton contributed to it; and 'the Duke' (there was only one Duke in those days) read it in proof.

† In June 1834, for instance, out of eleven articles, Lockhart contributed five, Croker three, Milman and Barrow one each. In June and September 1841, out of fifteen articles (in the two numbers) Lockhart wrote four, Croker five, and Milman two. The same system appears to have ruled in the 'Edinburgh' at this time. Brougham wrote six articles in the number for April 1835; and on another occasion a whole number is said to have come from his pen. ('E.R.', No. 402, pp. 298, 299.)

Wellington'; Hartley Coleridge, eldest son of the poet, and no mean poet himself; Henry John Rose, theologian, and son of Hugh James Rose, also a contributor; Richard Ford, author of the famous 'Guide to Spain'; Miss Rigby, afterwards Lady Eastlake; W. J. Conybeare, author, with Dean Howson, of the 'Life and Epistles of St Paul'; and, after 1845, W. E. Gladstone. Many other men of note contributed occasionally; among them Lord Ashley, better known as Lord Shaftesbury; Charles Apperley, who wrote under the pseudonym of 'Nimrod'; William Sewell, the friend of Keble, and founder of Radley College; Sir Benjamin Brodie, the well-known surgeon; John Sterling, the friend of Carlyle; John Ruskin; Aubrey de Vere; Sir Harris Nicolas, historian and antiquary; Dr Buckland, naturalist and Dean of Westminster; Eliot Warburton, author of 'The Crescent and the Cross'; A. W. Kinglake, the historian of the Crimean War; Matthew James Higgins ('Jacob Omnium'); Henry Reeve, afterwards editor of the 'Edinburgh'; M. Guizot; Dean Stanley; Prof. Owen, the comparative anatomist; Sir W. Herschel; Dr Maitland, author of brilliant essays on the Middle Ages and the Reformation; Lord Mahon; Theodore Hook; Dr Whewell, afterwards Master of Trinity; and Rev. Whitwell Elwin, who was to succeed Lockhart as editor of the 'Quarterly.'

To give any idea of the mass of excellent writing and the profusion of original ideas which are to be found in the 'Quarterly' under Lockhart's rule, would be impossible within the compass of an article; but it may be worth while to reproduce here a few specimens. Lord Shaftesbury contributed several papers on those philanthropic objects in which he took so strong and so beneficent an interest. The following passage, from a paper on 'Infant Labour' (No. 133, December 1840), will illustrate the spirit in which he set to work.

'Mr Horner's pamphlet "on the Employment of Children in Factories," while it shows many imperfections of detail, affirms the success of mercy by statute, and declares, on a retrospect of the last seven years, the commencement of many of those great and good results which we were called fools and zealots for venturing to prophesy. Well do we recollect the clamour; the awful predictions of a ruined trade and a starving population; commerce flying to foreign shores

[etc. etc.]. . . Were we frightened by these arguments? Not at all; we had one great and quickening principle, comfortable and true as revelation itself (for it is deduced from it)—that nothing which is morally wrong can be politically right.

By way of contrast, let us glance for a moment at the happier side of English life, as depicted in the gay and sparkling papers, full of the *joie de vivre*, which 'Nimrod' contributed to the Review. We wish we could transcribe his rollicking description of a famous run with Mr Osbaldeston's hounds from Ashby Pasture in the Quorn country (No. 93, March 1832 *); but it is too long for quotation. Our readers should dust their old 'Quarterlies' for themselves. In another essay on 'The Turf,' 'Nimrod' betrays an immense and intimate knowledge of racing, and leavens his information with many highly entertaining anecdotes. A third article, that on 'Public Carriages' (No. 96, December 1832), presents us with a vivid and historically valuable survey of coaching, when at its best, a few years after railway travelling had begun. 'From Liverpool to Manchester, thirty-six miles in an hour and a half!' exclaims the writer; 'surely Dædalus is come amongst us again.' But he does not dwell on the new wonder; his concern is with 'the road'; and from his survey we take the following passage:

'The Edinburgh mail runs the distance, 400 miles, in 40 hours; and we may set our watches by it at any point of her journey. Stoppages included, this approaches eleven miles in the hour, and much the greater part of it by lamplight. The Exeter day coach, the Herald, from the Saracen's Head, Snow Hill, runs over her ground, 173 miles, in 20 hours †—admirable performance, considering the natural unevenness of the country through which it has to pass. The Devonport mail does her work in first-rate style—227 miles in 22 hours. In short, from London to Cheltenham, Gloucester, Worcester, Birmingham, Norwich, or any other place whose distance does not much exceed one hundred miles, is now little more than a pleasant morning drive. We say "pleasant," for this extraordinary speed is *not* attained, generally speaking, by putting animals to anything like cruel exertion. A fast coach

* The 'peg' for this article was Apperley's own 'Remarks on the condition of Hunters,' etc.; but the book is not referred to in the article.

† 'From Calais to Paris is the same distance; the diligence takes at least 48 hours in the summer, and from 50 to 60 in the winter' (author's note).

has very nearly* a horse to every mile of ground it runs. . . . In practice, perhaps no animal toiling for man, solely for his profit, leads so easy and so comfortable a life as the English coach-horse. He is sumptuously fed, kindly treated, and, if he do suffer a little in his work, he has twenty-three hours in the twenty-four of luxurious ease. He is now almost a stranger to the lash, nor do we ever see him with a broken skin; but we often see him kick up his heels when taken from his coach, after having performed his stage of ten miles in five minutes under the hour.'

To the most remarkable religious event of the century, in this country at least—the Tractarian Movement—we find naturally a good many references. William Sewell, reviewing the 'Tracts for the Times' (No. 156, March 1839),† displays a sympathy for the movement more enlightened and comprehensive than the 'high and dry' ecclesiastical Toryism of Southey, but seems to have no suspicion of the schism to which those epoch-making publications were to lead. 'One of their most prominent characteristics,' he finds, is their learning. We are reminded here of Bishop Creighton's note about that special distinction of the English Church.

'We think' (concludes the writer) 'the publication of the Oxford Tracts a very seasonable and valuable contribution to the cause both of the Church and the State, and therein of religion and liberty, and all the other interests of Englishmen. . . . And so long as the authors continue in adherence to their original declared principles, anxious for improvement, but averse from innovation; submissive to authority without yielding their own right of reason; careful in abstaining from extremes, abandoning all thoughts of self, and looking only to God's glory in all things—so long, we trust and believe, they will find a blessing resting on their labours; and all those who love their country and their Church will heartily wish them God-speed.'

The verdict on other works emanating from Oxford

* 'For example, from London to Shrewsbury is 158 miles; and the number of horses kept for the "Wonder" coach is 150' (author's note).

† In a letter to Lockhart (unpublished), Sewell points out the unfortunate results of the publication of Hurrell Froude's 'Remains.' 'Nothing' (he says) 'can be sounder than the Tracts—nothing more unsound than Froude's book.' In an unpublished letter, 'Henry of Exeter' wrote to Murray, April 3, 1839: 'The article on the Oxford Tracts is one of the most valuable your Review ever contained.'

at this time was not always so favourable. Gladstone, in a powerful article on Ward's 'Ideal of a Christian Church' (No. 149, December 1844), regards that author's treatment of the English Reformation as characterised by 'the most extravagant injustice.' In respect of his 'novel and most dangerous philosophy concerning the supremacy of conscience in the pursuit of moral and religious truth,' Gladstone remarks:

'We have never seen the subjective theory—the doctrine that truth is what a man throweth—presented in a more formidable manner than in the volume of Mr Ward; and this especially because it is couched in terms that conceal its hideousness . . . for we are persuaded that no man would anathematise that theory more readily or more sincerely than Mr Ward.'

It would hardly be conceded, in these days, that the writer's attempt to reconcile 'changeless objective truth,' individuality of judgment, and an authoritative Church, defies criticism; but of his devout faith in Anglicanism, as supplying the basis of such a reconciliation, there can be no doubt.

'By a mysterious and providential order, the organisation of the Church of England has in some sort combined together for three hundred years the individuality which constitutes the soul of Protestantism, as it is viewed apart from the essence of the Church, and the ancient and immortal principles of changeless objective truth, as the dogmatic basis of Christianity, and of the divine mission of the Church, as the appointed instrument of its activity in the world. . . . And so it has singularly happened that the English Church, tame in her external character, weak in her disciplinary observances and laws, and affording in her practical system but too little scope to enthusiasm, has nevertheless maintained, throughout all vicissitudes, her hold upon the allegiance of the most stirring and energetic nation in the world.'

A year later the schism, which Sewell, in discussing the Tracts, failed to foresee, had taken place. That the review which Milman wrote on Newman's 'Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine' (No. 154, March 1846) was animated by no unfriendly feeling, is evident from the opening, which runs as follows:

'All the world knows that, before the publication of this work [1845], Mr Newman had passed over to the Church of

Rome. May his restless spirit at length have repose!—the doubts, which still tremblingly betray themselves in his most positive conclusions, cease to haunt his mind!—his deep religious yearnings find satisfaction in those cloistral practices or observances, it should seem, absolutely indispensable to his peculiar temperament, but unnecessary to those Christians who are content with the higher mission of perseveringly discharging their duty to God and man, whether in the high places or the domestic sanctuaries of life!

But the close examination of the 'Essay' which follows, while respectful throughout, is distinctly unfavourable to Newman's conclusions. Logical and cogent as is the argument in matters of detail, it would seem as if the writer had hardly grasped the drift and scope of Newman's great work. Had he written a generation later—twenty years after the theory of evolution had received so vast an impulse from the labours of Darwin—still more, had he written in our own day, when the fruits of Newman's Essay are showing themselves so remarkably within Newman's own Church, his line of criticism would probably have been very different.

The period covered by Lockhart's editorship was indeed a remarkable one in our literature, when such works as—to mention only a few—the 'Christian Year,' the 'Life of Scott,' Tennyson's 'Poems' (1832 and 1842), and 'In Memoriam,' Carlyle's 'Sartor Resartus' and 'French Revolution,' 'Pickwick' and 'Pickwick's' best successors, Wordsworth's 'Sonnets,' Ruskin's 'Modern Painters,' Browning's 'Sordello' and 'Dramatic Lyrics,' Macaulay's 'Lays,' and the beginning of his 'History,' Disraeli's 'Coningsby,' Grote's 'History of Greece,' 'Jane Eyre' and 'Wuthering Heights,' 'Vanity Fair' and 'Esmond,' poured in unbroken succession from the press. What richness! what brilliance! what variety! what subjects to talk and to write about! Editors and critics alike had indeed no lack of material in those wonderful days.

In 1832 Tennyson published his third book—a thin volume of poems.* The writer of an article hitherto attributed to Lockhart, but probably by Croker (No. 97, April 1833) makes merciless fun—fun of a certain sort—of this volume. He starts by remarking that the 'Quarterly'

* It had been preceded by 'Poems by two Brothers' (1827) and 'Poems chiefly Lyrical' (1830). The 1832 volume is dated 1833.

seems to have been quite mistaken about Keats' 'Endymion,' especially in not foreseeing how popular that poem was to become. 'Warned by our former mishap, wiser by experience, and improved, as we hope, in taste, we have to offer to Mr Tennyson our tribute of unmingled approbation.' In this ironical spirit the whole article is written. This, for example, is quite in the vein of Croker on Keats. After quoting from 'a kind of testamentary paper, addressed to——,' the lines,

'Sweet as the noise, in parched plains,
Of bubbling wells that fret the stones,
(If any sense in me remains)';

he remarks, 'We take upon ourselves to assure Mr Tennyson that, even after he shall be dead and buried, as much "sense" will still remain as he has now the good fortune to possess.' This is bad; it is still worse to see nothing but matters for sneers and scoffing in 'The Lady of Shalott.' But it is only fair to acknowledge that many, in fact most, of the critic's objections were justified by the most convincing of tests—that the poet either dropped or altered the incriminated verses. For instance, in 'The Lady of Shalott,' the half-stanza,

'From the bank, and from the river
He flashed into the crystal mirror—
"Tirra lirra, tirra lirra" (lirrar?),
Sang Sir Lancelot,'

becomes, in the later edition,

'From the bank, and from the river
He flashed into the crystal mirror—
"Tirra lirra," by the river
Sang Sir Lancelot.'

Again, for the half-stanza (as originally written),

'Knight and burgher, lord and dame,
To the planked wharfage came;
Below the stern they read her name,
The Lady of Shalott,'

we have, in the version of 1842,

'Out upon the wharfs they came,
Knight and burgher, lord and dame,
And round the prow they read her name,
The Lady of Shalott.'

In 'The Miller's Daughter' the stanzas with which the critic found fault were almost all either omitted or re-written. The same is the case with several lines in 'Cenone.' A passage in 'The Lotuseaters' (spelt thus originally), containing the line 'Like a dreamy Lotuseater—a delicious Lotuseater,' disappeared in the later poem, as did also a stanza in 'The Palace of Art':

'Isäiah, with fierce Ezekiel,
Swarth Moses by the Coptic Sea,
Plato, Petrarca, Livy, and Raphael,
And eastern Confutzee'—

a stanza which, to the humorous sense of the critic, recalled the lines in 'that celebrated Doric idyll, "The Groves of Blarney":

"Statues growing that noble place in,
All heathen goddesses most rare,
Homer, Plutarch, and Nebuchadnezzar,
All standing naked in the open air!"

But perhaps the most remarkable instance of an improvement due to the criticisms of the 'Quarterly' is to be found in 'A Dream of Fair Women,' in which, originally, a stanza ran thus:

'The tall masts quivered as they lay afloat;
The temples, and the people, and the shore;
One drew a sharp knife through my tender throat
Slowly—and nothing more.'

On this the critic observes: 'What touching simplicity! what pathetic resignation! He cut my throat—nothing more! One might indeed ask what more she would have?' Tennyson took the hint, showing herein real greatness; and in the later version we find the splendid stanza:

'The high masts flicker'd as they lay afloat;
The crowds, the temples, waver'd, and the shore;
The bright death quiver'd at the victim's throat;
Touch'd; and I knew no more.'

If justice was not done to Tennyson's shining qualities in this, doubtless, one-sided and inadequate, though observant review, it was done, nine years later, to the

'Poems' of 1842, by another writer, Carlyle's friend, John Sterling. At the conclusion of an article* (No. 140,

* In connexion with this article some correspondence passed between Lockhart and Croker which throws light on the authorship of the earlier paper on Tennyson—that of 1833. Mr Lang, in his 'Life of Lockhart' (ii, 87, and elsewhere), assumes, probably on the evidence of the private register in Albemarle Street, that Lockhart was the author. But he had not seen the correspondence from which we are about to quote. On November 20, 1842, Croker, who had been annoyed by another circumstance leading him to conceive that Murray and Lockhart wished to get rid of him, wrote to Lockhart as follows (the letter is unpublished): 'On the publication of the Tennyson article in the last number [i.e. Sterling's article], I felt that I ought to retire; for, whether that article was right or wrong, it was understood by some common friends of ours as a public and direct dissent from, and disclaimer of, my opinions.' On November 22 Lockhart (in an unpublished letter), after some conciliatory remarks on the other grievance, replies: 'Even so, in another way, as to Mr Tennyson's new poems. I may be wrong in thinking that they show a vast superiority over his juvenile verses; but such, depend on it, is the general opinion among literary men of the highest class. An article was sent to me by a gentleman whom I had never seen, but of whose talents I had formed a high notion from the perusal of his own works. Neither he nor I had ever seen Mr Tennyson. I was pleased with his paper. By accepting it, I fancied I was taking the easiest way to do Mr Tennyson justice, and the way most certain to save you from any unpleasant feeling with reference to the article on his early rhymes. Everybody would see that it was the paper of a young, enthusiastic hand; and, if any one observed that the former volume had been handled in a different method, why, you had only to say, as I dare say you did, that you had never seen the new book, nor the review until it was published. I don't think you complained of Mr Gifford for the altered tone in reviewing the Waverley Novels, after the papers on "Waverley" itself and "Guy Mannering" [which were by Croker]. It seems absurd enough to mention Scott and Tennyson in the same page; but the principle of the editorial part appears to have been identical; and I am very sure that Gifford was neither more nor less incapable of discharging what he thought his duty on the one occasion, with the least feeling of disrespect towards you, than I was on the other.' Now it will be observed, first, that a parallel is drawn between the abandonment of Croker's views on the Waverley Novels (see above, p. 743) and the departure from an earlier opinion on Tennyson in the present case. Secondly, had Lockhart written the 1833 article, he would surely have told Croker to mind his own business, and have asked why he (Lockhart) might not change his mind. Thirdly, unless Croker wrote the 1833 article, it is difficult to see why he should have been so much annoyed as to think of resignation, or why he should have supposed he had any right to remonstrate. Fourthly, in referring to the former article, Croker speaks distinctly of '*my* opinions' having been publicly disclaimed. Fifthly, the tone of Lockhart's reply is apologetic, as if he felt that some apology was required. Sixthly, the original entry in the register is 'J. W. Croker.' This has been struck out, and 'Lockhart' inserted in a later hand. Lastly, the internal evidence of the 1833 article is strongly in favour of its being by Croker—the whole tone, style, and method of the paper; the pointed reference to the article on Keats; the quotation from 'The Groves of Blarney,' naturally familiar to an Irishman,

September 1842) abounding in warm praise, but not without unfavourable criticism of detail, Sterling, who regards the 'Idylls' as 'the most valuable part of Mr Tennyson's writings,' contrasts his author with Wordsworth as an idyllic poet, and concludes thus :

In the younger of these two idyllic writers, on the whole the most genial poet of English rural life that we know—for Burns was of another language and country, no less than school—there is a very different stamp of soul. In his works there has been art enough required and used to give such clear and graceful roundness ; but all skill of labour, all intellectual purpose, kept behind the sweet and fervid impulse of the heart. Thus, all that we call affection, imagination, intellect, melts out as one long happy sigh into union with the visibly beautiful, and with every glowing breath of human life. In all his better poems there is this same character—this fusion of his own fresh feeling with the delightful affections, baffled or blessed, of others, and with the fairest images of the real world as it lies before us all to-day.*

'Pickwick,' along with the 'Sketches,' was welcomed by Hayward on its first appearance with the words,

'The popularity of this writer is one of the most remarkable literary phenomena of recent times, for it has been fairly earned without resorting to any of the means by which most other writers have succeeded in attracting the attention of their contemporaries. He has flattered no popular prejudice, and profited by no passing folly ; he has attempted no caricature sketches of the manners or conversation of the aristocracy ; and there are very few political or personal allusions in his works. . . . Yet, in less than six months from the appearance of the first number of the "Pickwick Papers," the whole reading public were talking about them. . . . Nay, Pickwick chintzes figured in linen drapers' windows, and Weller corduroys in breeches-makers' advertisements. . . . The most cursory reference to preceding English writers of the comic order will show that, in his own peculiar walk, Mr Dickens is not simply the most distinguished but the first.' (No. 118, Oct. 1837.)

When, four years later, Wordsworth's collected Sonnets

etc. These considerations leave in the mind of the present writer no doubt that Croker, and not Lockhart, was the author of the article of 1833.

* It is interesting to note, in connexion with what is here said about Tennyson's love of beauty, the remarks of M. Émile Faguet in the article which heads the present number.

were published, we find Sir Henry Taylor writing about them thus (No. 137, December 1841):

'It is, then, to the cultivation of Mr Wordsworth's mind in real life that we attribute his pre-eminence as a philosophic poet; for with him the justness of the thought is always the first consideration. What is commonplace, so it be true, has its due place and proportion in his mind; and the degree to which plain and acknowledged truth enters into his writings gives them their breadth, and perhaps, when they are regarded as a whole, their originality; for there is no mind so rare, and consequently so original, as one which is intellectually capable of the most brilliant aberrations, and is yet so tempered by the love of truth as to give old truths their place along with new, and so warmed by the same love as to make all truths impressive. And Mr Wordsworth's example, if not his precepts, may suggest to the poetical aspirants who abound in our times, that poetry, in its highest kinds, is the result not merely of a talent or an art, nor even only of these combined with a capacious mind and an ardent imagination, but also of a life led in the love of truth.'

Three years more, and Kinglake's 'Eothen' appeared to illuminate the picturesque side of that undying Eastern Question which had recently passed through one of its acutest crises. Warburton, whose equally opportune book was to be noticed in the next number, reviewed 'Eothen' in December 1844 (No. 149). He describes it thus:

"The splendour and the havoc of the East" open upon us in the first page of this original and brilliant book; the expression is characteristic at once of the author's style, and of the regions to which it is happily applied. A style unborrowed and untrammelled, bold, highly-coloured and versatile, enables him to illustrate his varied and comprehensive subject with singular effect. . . . "Eothen" gives us the very East itself in all its own gorgeous or gloomy realities. The Servian forest with the Tatars' cavalcade; the Turkish capital with its shawled and turbaned men and shrouded women; the stormy Levant, with its passionate Greek sailor; the hushed desert, with its Bedouin; and the plague-stricken city with its doomed inhabitants—all these, as touched by this felicitous hand, leave upon the reader's mind, not a series of mere pictures, but a sense of actual experience.'

It was in 1843 that Ruskin published the first volume of his greatest work. A few years later he contributed

to the 'Quarterly' two papers, one on Lord Lindsay's 'History of Christian Art' (No. 161, June 1847), the other on Eastlake's 'History of Oil Painting' (No. 164, March 1848). It is not too much to say that no works of his give a better idea of his early mind, method, and style, than these highly-finished essays. From the first of them we choose the following passages, one on architecture, the other a description of the 'Annunciation' by Fra Angelico, in the upper corridor of St Mark's.

'Here, then, arose one great distinction between Northern and Transalpine Gothic, based, be it still observed, on mere necessities of climate. While the architect of Santa Maria Novella admitted to the frescos of Ghirlandajo scarcely more of purple lancet light than had been shed by the morning sun through the veined alabasters of San Miniato, and looked to the rich blue of the quinquipartite vault above, as to the mosaic of the older *concha*, for conspicuous aid in the colour decoration of the whole; the northern builder burst through the walls of his apse, poured over the eastern altar one unbroken blaze, and lifting his shafts like pines and his walls like precipices, ministered to their miraculous stability by an infinite phalanx of sloped buttress and glittering pinnacle.'

'Many a Sabbath evening of bright summer have we passed in that lonely corridor—but not to the finding of faults nor the provoking of smiles. The Angel is perhaps something less majestic than is usual with the painter; but the Virgin is only the more to be worshipped, because here, for once, set before us in the verity of life. No gorgeous robe is upon her, no lifted throne set for her; the golden border gleams faintly on the dark blue dress; the seat is drawn into the shadow of a lowly loggia; the face is of no strange, far-sought loveliness; the features might even be thought hard; and they are worn with watching, and severe, though innocent. She stoops forward with her arms folded on her bosom; no casting down of eye nor shrinking of the frame in fear; she is too earnest, too self-forgetful for either; wonder and enquiry are there, but chastened and free from doubt; meekness, yet mingled with a patient majesty; peace, yet sorrowfully sealed, as if the promise of the Angel were already underwritten by the prophecy of Simeon.'

In the second of his articles, it is interesting to note that Ruskin singles out of all the works in the National Gallery the portrait, by John van Eyck, of Jean Arnolfini and his wife, as the picture which

'represents with least disputable fidelity the first intention of its painter.'

With a couple of extracts from Lockhart's own articles we may conclude this portion of our review. His papers cover a great variety of subjects—biographies, poetry, novels, history, biblical criticism, travels, etc. 'As a critic he could be severe, but he was just and never spiteful; and he could praise with whole-hearted approval.' By way of illustrating his severity, we may mention a humorous incident which happened in March 1834. An article by him (No. 101) unmercifully cut up one of the oldest and most respected of his colleagues—no less a person than Southey. Whether this would have happened had Lockhart known the facts is doubtful; but he was completely taken in. The first two volumes of Southey's novel, 'The Doctor,' were published anonymously in 1834. 'At first,' as Lockhart says, 'suspicion lighted, almost universally, on the Laureate'; but Southey, for some unexplained reason, stoutly denied the charge. Lockhart, therefore, felt himself free to say what he liked about the book; and, while commending it in parts, he said many things that must have been very displeasing to the unknown author. 'We do not hesitate,' he remarks, 'to pay the language of the book the extraordinary compliment of saying that much of it might have done even Mr Southey no discredit; but surely, of all the gross errors, both in the conception and in the execution, to which we have alluded, the least could never have been supposed to have come from him.' Thus was Southey hoist with his own petard.

On the other hand, the number immediately preceding (No. 100, January 1834) contains a highly appreciative article on Crabbe, whose *Life* (by his son) and *Collected Works* had just been published. Lockhart may have been specially attracted towards Crabbe by Scott's fondness for that true but now neglected poet—in his last illness, the Bible and Crabbe seem to have been the only books that Sir Walter cared to have read to him; but that Lockhart had completely adopted the author of 'The Village' on his own account is clear.

"The poet of the poor," as his son justly styles him, has hitherto found little favour except with the rich; and yet, of all English authors, he is the one who has sympathised the

most profoundly and tenderly with the virtues and the sorrows of humble life; who has best understood the fervours of lowly love and affection; and painted the anxieties and vicissitudes of toil and penury with the closest fidelity and the most touching pathos. In his works the peasant and the mechanic will find everything to elevate their aspirations, and yet nothing to quicken envy and uncharitableness. He is a Christian poet; his satire is strong, but never rancorous; his lessons of virtue are earnest but modest; his reprehensions of vice severe but brotherly. . . . The vulgar impression that Crabbe is throughout a gloomy author we ascribe to the choice of certain specimens of his earliest poetry in the "Elegant Extracts." . . . We assert, without hesitation, that it would be easy to select from Crabbe a volume at least of most powerful, most exciting, and most characteristic poetry, which should hardly, in a single line, touch on any but the pleasurable emotions of our nature; of cunning but altogether unvenomed ridicule; of solemn but unsaddening morality; and of that gentle pathos which is a far more delicious luxury than ever sprang from gaiety of spirit.'

Let us wind up with a sketch of a man regarded by many contemporaries as the greatest humorist of their day, though he is nearly forgotten now, while Dickens reigns supreme. Lockhart, partly at least, supplies the cause (No. 143, May 1843):

'His defects are great; but Theodore Hook is, we apprehend, the only male novelist of this time, except Mr Dickens, who has drawn portraits of contemporary English society destined for permanent existence. . . . He understood London thoroughly, with all the tributary provinces within reach either of St Peter's bell or St Paul's. . . . He is to the upper and middle life of that region what Dickens alone is to its low life—a true authentic expositor; but in manner he is entirely original. . . . Like all other first-class humorists, he betrays everywhere the substratum of solid sagacity; and like them all except Swift, he is genial. He comprehends human nature, and no one makes better sport with it; but it is never doubtful that he loved his kind, and contemplated the follies of others with a consciousness of his own frailty. . . .

'We have already expressed our opinion, however, that Theodore Hook's ability in conversation was above what he ever exemplified in his writings. We have seen him in company with very many of the most eminent men of his time; and we never, until he was near his end, carried home with us the impression that he had been surpassed. . . .

Memory and knack may suffice to furnish out an amusing narrator; but the teller of good stories seldom amuses long if he cannot also say good things. Hook shone equally in both. . . . His play of feature, the compass and music of his voice, his large and brilliant eye, capable of every expression from the gravest to the most grotesquely comical, the quiet aptness of every attitude and gesture, his power of mimicry, unrivalled but by Mathews—when to all this we add the constant effect of his innate imperturbable good-humour, the strong absence of spleen, and ever and anon some flash of strong, sterling sense, bursting through such an atmosphere of fun and drollery, we still feel how inadequately we attempt to describe the indescribable. The charm was that it was all Nature, spontaneous as water from the rock.'

Of Lockhart as an editor we have already said something. He was assiduous and devoted to his duties; and his business-like habits enabled him to bring out the Review with a regularity which shone by contrast with Gifford's unpunctual ways. The circulation was not what it had been under Gifford (see p. 759), but it remained at a high figure. Like Gifford, he had to complain that the 'Quarterly' was neglected by the heads of the party to which it belonged. We find him writing to Capt. Basil Hall in a letter (unpublished) dated October 28, 1820: 'You talk of the post I fill as a situation under Government. Were it so, I should be in communication with it. But the present Government give themselves no concern about literary aid.' So it has almost always been, and perhaps better so. At all events it enables the Review to retain its independence. Lockhart used his editorial powers, as we have seen, without hesitation, when the case required. Not unfrequently he went so far as to interpolate, in the papers of other authors, passages of his own—a proceeding which, on one occasion, gave Lord Mahon great annoyance; and the annoyance received an additional sting from his fear that his article might be taken for one of Croker's. But with his colleagues, as well as with his publisher, Lockhart was consistently—except for an occasional tiff, speedily appeased—on the best of terms. That, like other editors, as we may suppose, he had his moments of boredom and depression, is clear from his correspondence, and from his well-known lines:

'Over-wearied, over-worried,
Over-Croker'd, over-Murray'd,
Over-Southey'd, over-Walter'd,*
Fain I would that I were alter'd.'

But such moments do not appear—at least till near the end of his life, when illness had dimmed and personal troubles saddened his bright spirit—to have been frequent or of long duration. Of personal troubles he had indeed more than his share. The very first year of his editorship was marked by the financial ruin of Sir Walter; the death of the man he loved and admired most in the world followed in 1832.

In 1843 he lost his friendly employer, John Murray, second of the name, who died somewhat prematurely, at the age of sixty-five, worn out by many years of unremitting labour. Of his energetic and skilful conduct of his business, of his generosity to authors and to all who were connected with the 'Quarterly,' and of the wide circle of his acquaintances and friends, we have already spoken. He was the real founder of the Review; the idea of it originated with him; he watched over it from its commencement with ceaseless care; and its success was due, in no small measure, not only to his general interest in it, but to the share which he constantly took in what would generally be regarded as editorial duties. He established, from the outset, the principle that every writer should be paid for his contributions to the 'Quarterly.' His fame as a publisher was widespread. He was universally known in 'the trade' (says Smiles) as 'the Emperor of the West.' Writing to Lockhart in 1828, Scott says: 'By all means do what the Emperor asks. He is, what the Emperor Napoleon was not, much a gentleman.' The pages of Smiles' two bulky volumes abound with letters showing with what esteem, and often with what affection, he was regarded by his large and influential *clientèle*. In his publications he made but few mistakes of importance, the worst being that of attempting, in 1826, to establish a daily paper, 'The Representative,' which failed after six months, and cost him 26,000*l*. He lost money some-

* This refers to anxiety about his troublesome son, Walter Lockhart Scott, who died in 1853.

times in other ventures, generally from over-generosity, as when he gave 3000*l.* for Crabbe's copyrights, and the same sum for Irving's 'Columbus'; but his *flair* for good literature, though sometimes at fault, as when he declined 'Rejected Addresses,' was attested by the long series of admirable works which issued from his house. 'Quick-tempered and impulsive, he was' (says his biographer) 'warm-hearted and generous to a fault; while a genuine sense of humour, which constantly shows itself in his letters, saved him many a time from those troubles into which the hasty often fall.'

Lockhart survived his publisher and friend eleven years. With his successor, John Murray the third, he kept up the same friendly relations as with his father. The deaths of his wife and children, and other domestic troubles, saddened his later years. His shyness grew upon him; he went rarely into society. It has been said that he was friendless; but this is far from being true. His correspondence with Milman, much of which is printed by Mr Lang, would alone disprove the assertion. Of Mrs Norton he was a confidential friend. Lord Stanhope and others are mentioned by Mr Lang. With Carlyle, too, he was long intimate; and Carlyle was not easy of access. The intimacy was unshaken even by Lockhart's refusal of an article which Carlyle once offered for the Review. In his letters Lockhart addressed the latter-day prophet in a way which betokens not only intimacy but affection, as 'Father Sauerteig' (sour-dough). That he had a longing and a capacity for affection is sufficiently shown by his domestic life, and by the beautiful lines which he sent to Carlyle, and which were (so Froude tells us) 'often on Carlyle's lips to the end of his own life.'

'When youthful faith has fled,
Of loving take thy leave;
Be constant to the dead;
The dead cannot deceive...

But 'tis an old belief
That, on some solemn shore,
Beyond the sphere of grief,
Dear friends will meet once
more,

Beyond the sphere of time,
And sin, and fate's control,
Serene in changeless prime
Of body and of soul.

That creed I fain would keep,
That hope I'll not forgo.
Eternal be the sleep,
Unless to waken so.'

His personal appearance, about 1828, is described by Mr Griffin, an American visitor, as follows (Smiles, ii, 235):

'Tall and slightly but elegantly formed, his head possesses the noble contour, the precision and harmony of outline, which distinguish classic sculpture. It possesses, too, a striking effect of colour in a complexion pale yet pure, and hair black as the raven's wing. Though his countenance is youthful, yet I should designate reflection as the prominent, combined expression of that broad, white forehead; those arched and pencilled brows; those retired yet full, dark eyes; the accurately chiselled nose, and compressed, though curved, lips. His face is too thin, perhaps, for beauty; but this defect heightens its intellectual character.'

Another contemporary speaks of his 'melancholy Spanish head.'

About the year 1846 his health began to fail. In September 1849 he had a severe illness. The constant toil gradually became too much for him; and in 1853 he resigned. The last number which he edited was No. 185 (June 1853). On November 25, 1854, while England was ringing with the news of Inkerman, he died. His body rests in Dryburgh Abbey, as he desired, 'at the feet of Sir Walter Scott.'

(To be completed in our next.)

END OF THE TWO HUNDRED AND TENTH VOLUME.

INDEX

TO THE

TWO HUNDRED AND TENTH VOLUME OF THE
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

[Titles of Articles are printed in heavier type. The names of authors of articles are printed in italics.]

A.

Abbott, G. F., 'The Near-Eastern Question: The Turkish Empire,' 674.

Africa, South, Union in. See South Africa, 712.

Ancient Painting, The Remains of, 429—Campanian frescoes, *ib.*—various reproductions, 430, 431—Greek use of colour, 431-433—limited range of hues, 433—development of true painting, 434—painted marble slabs, 435—methods of ancient wall-decoration, 436—disappearance of examples, 437—questionable examples examined, 438-442—influence of Egypt, 442—the Pompeian wall-paintings, 443-451—the 'Egyptian saloon,' 445—the 'Medea' of Timomachus, 449-451—lack of creative power, 451—Egyptian remains, 452—Roman mosaics, 453—distinction between art of the East and West, 454.

Austin, Alfred, 'Milton and Dante,' 157—'The Essentials of Great Poetry,' 408.

Australasian colonies, working of the minimum wage Act, 75.

Austria-Hungary: The Near-Eastern Question, 654—parties in the dual kingdom, *ib.*—the whirlpool of Europe, 655—Bohemia, *ib.*—Czech aspirations, 656—the Neo-Slav movement, 657—the Magyars, 658—their language, 660—and slow progress, *ib.*—Croatia, 662—the 'Flume Resolution,' 662—condition and prospects, 663—the
Vol. 210.—No. 419.

Poles, 664—their success, 665—Austria-Hungary aggressive, 666—Bosnia-Herzegovina, 667—efforts of the nations, 668—the railway war, *ib.*—Bulgaria and Serbia, 669—Austria's intervention, 670—attitude of Italy, 671—Austria-Hungary's true position, 672.

B.

Baker, H., 'The Territorial Force,' 3.
Barrow, Sir John, and the 'Quarterly,' 747.

Barry, Dr William, 'Innocent the Great,' 525.

Baur, F. C., his theory of religious evolution, 332-334.

Binyon, L., extract from his poem 'The Death of Adam,' 196.

Blowitz, H. S. de, 'My Memoirs,' 106, 108.

Boigne, The Memoirs of Madame de, 623—her powers as writer, *ib.*—attitude to life, 630—birth, 631—experiences, 632—marriage, 633—M. de Boigne's defects, 634—society under the Bourbons, 635—the salons, 636—at Fontainebleau, 638—the Legitimists, 639—dislike of the journalists, 640—inaccuracies in the record, 641-644—views about the Bourbons, 645-649—description of Louis XVI, 647—of Mme de Berry, 648—'Tales of an Aunt,' 652.

Bonn, Dr M. J., 'The English Colonisation in Ireland,' 254.

Bradley, Mr., 'Appearance and Reality' criticised, 396.

- Breasted, J. H., extract from his 'History of Egypt,' 46 *et seq.*—his 'Egyptian Records,' 61.
 Bridges, R., extract from his poem, 195.
 Browning, Robert, his work compared with Tennyson's, 327.
 Bruckmann, Messrs., 'Monuments of Greek and Roman Sculpture,' 430.
 Byrne, M. J., his translation of 'Ireland under Elizabeth,' 274.

C.

- Canning, George, and the foundation of the 'Quarterly,' 733—his position and contributions, 744.
 Century of English Music, A, 501—neglect of music in 1809, 502—earlier appreciation, 503—its progress, 504 *et seq.*—Crystal Palace concerts, 505—Handel festivals, 506—crazes, 507, 513—choral ballads and oratorios, 508—opera, *ib.*—Sullivan's 'Tempest,' 510—Wagner, 511—'Associated Board' for examinations, 512—welcome to foreigners, 514—Church music, *ib.*—archæological researches, 516—German influence, 519—Society of British Composers, 520—recent awakening, 521—Savoy and other operas, 522—again a musical country, 524.
 Chadwyck-Healey, Mr., on the mental responsibility in criminal cases, 186.
 Chambord, Comte de, his views on the dogma of Divine Right, 92, 94, 100—refusal to accept the tricolour flag, 93, 100—declines to become the legitimate sovereign of the Revolution, 102.
 Coleridge, Sir John Taylor, editor of the 'Quarterly,' 781.
 Colquhoun, Archibald R., 'The Near-Eastern Question: Austria-Hungary,' 654.
 Croker, John Wilson, 748—as politician, *ib.*—unjustly maligned, 749—Disraeli's attack, 750—and Macaulay's, 751—Gladstone's opinion, *ib.*—criticism of Macaulay's history, 752—valuable friendships, 753—as critic of prose, 754—and poetry, *ib.*—Keats' 'Endymion,' 755—his multitudinous work,

D.

- Dante and Milton: a Comparison and a Contrast, 157. *See* Milton.
 Davies, N. de G., 'The Rock Tombs of El Amarna,' 61.

- Davis, T. M., his account of the discovery of the Tomb of Iouiya and Touliyou, 55, 56.
 Davison, Charles, 'Earthquakes and their Causes,' 477.
 Delbrück, H., 'Geschichte der Kriegskunst im Rahmen der politischen Geschichte,' 117.
 Delmé-Radcliffe, Lt.-Col. C., and J. W. Lewis, 'A Territorial Army in Being,' 3.
 Denis, S., 'Histoire Contemporaine,' 96.
 Dicey, Prof. A. V., 'Woman Suffrage,' 276—distinction between the legal and the political sovereign, 292, *note*—'English Party Government,' 604.
 Dickens, Charles, 'Quarterly' welcome to 'Pickwick,' 776.
 Dillon, Dr E. J., 'The Reforming Turk,' 231.
 Downes, Dr A. H., his opinions on Poor-Law reform, 556 *et seq.*
 Dunlop, R., 'Truth and Fiction in Irish History,' 254.
 Dust, evils of, caused by motor-cars, 149, 153.
 Dutton, Major C. E., his study of earthquakes, 479.

E.

- Earlswood Asylum, 185.
 Earthquakes and their Causes, 477—the Lisbon earthquake, *ib.*—Mallet's investigations, *ib.*—study in Japan, 478—organisation of research, 479—circumstances of an earthquake, 480—far-reaching results, 481—horizontal pendulums, 482—484—records, 484—progress of earth-waves, 486—the preliminary tremors, 487—the second series, 489—distinct from volcanic districts, 490—'faults,' 491—cliffs, 492—British earthquakes, *ib.*—Mallet's map, 495—Prof. Milne's map, *ib.*—de Montessus' map, 496—earthquake areas, 496—499—recent earthquakes, 499.
 'Edinburgh Review,' the, 733.
 Egypt, Ancient, Religion and Empire in, 44—the fall of the Twelfth Dynasty, *ib.*—reigns of the six Hyksos kings, 45—extent of their power, *ib.*—characteristics, 46—kings Jonias and Apophis, 47—excavation of a camp, *ib.*—expulsion, 48—rule of the Pharaohs, 49—birth of Yuua, *ib.*—holds the office of Priest of Min, 50—Amenhotep III succeeds to the throne

- and marriage, 51—marriage of Yuaa's daughter Thy, *ib.*—titles and appearance, 53—opposition to the priesthood of Amen, *ib.*—worship of the deity Aton, 54, 57—discovery of the tombs of Yuaa and Thuaa, 55—birth of Amenhotep IV, 57—death of Amenhotep III, *ib.*—change of the name to Akhnaton, 58—his religious revolution, 59—character of the Aton religion, 60—persecution of the worshippers of Amen, 61—death of Akhnaton, 62—identification of his body, 63—age at his death, 63–65—the name of Akhnaton erased, 65.
- Electoral system, result of including women, 288, *note*.
- Ellis, George, and the founding of the 'Quarterly,' 746.
- English Party Government**, 604—Mr Lowell's work, *ib.*—the Cabinet centre, 606—created by party government, 608—prerogatives of the Crown, *ib.*—the system built unconsciously, 610—the Opposition, 611—two parties necessary, *ib.*—must be loyal to constitution, 612—the Civil Service, *ib.*—power of Ministries increasing, 615—the caucus, 616—politics becoming more scientific, 617—Mr Lowell's approbation, 619—defects of the system, 621–627.
- Epileptics, treatment of, 183—education of children, *ib.*—number, 184.
- Escott, T. H. S., 'The Works of Anthony Trollope,' 210.
- Essentials of Great Poetry**, The, 408—decay of authority, *ib.*—qualities common to poetry, 409 *et seq.*—melodiousness, 409—lucidity, 410—examples from Wordsworth, 412, 415—and Shelley, 413—order of development, 414—classes of poetry, 415—Descriptive, 415—'Childe Harold,' 416—Lyrical, 418—Spenser's 'Epithalamion,' *ib.*—Cavalier lyrics, 419—Reflective poetry, 421—Epic and Dramatic poetry, 423—demand great treatment, 425—causes of the decay of appreciation, 426—fallibility of the age, 427.
- Evolution and the Church**, 329—transformation in faiths, *ib.*—forms of truth change, 330—Prof. Pfleiderer's views, 331, 332—F. C. Baur's theory, 333—Tübingen school, 333—Hegelianism, *ib.*—reaction and return to first principles, 334—influence of personality, 335—Newman's attitude, 336–338—reserves necessary in applying the theory, 337 *et seq.*—'a pure Gospel,' 339—attitude to some questions necessarily agnostic, 340—evolution explains 341—gulf between Christ and Christianity, 342—Gnosticism, 343—heresies and persecutions, 344—monasticism, 345—pre-Reformation Catholicism and after, 345 *et seq.*—the truth about the Reformation, 349–353—the true Church, 353—and the world, 354.
- Evolutionary Ethics**, 356—influence of Darwin through the sciences *ib.*—affected root-problems, 357—examples in ethics, *ib.*—Herbert Spencer, 358—Kant and Leibnitz, 360—cosmical and biological evolution, 362—natural selection, 363—affects morality also, *ib.*—the moral consciousness, 364 *et seq.*—Mendelism, 367—the animal consciousness, *ib.*—how different from man's, 368, 369—social selection, 369—function of ethical ideas, 371—Huxley, 371, 373—utility, 372—evolution not of itself a tendency to perfection, 374—the need of impartiality, 375—ideas true and false, 376—limits to the theory, *ib.*—its methods, 377—a process from nature to spirit, 378.
- F.
- Faguet, Émile, 'The Centenary of Tennyson,' 305.
- Feeble-minded, The Control of the**, 171—appointment of a Royal Commission, *ib.*—its object and method, 172—number of feeble-minded, *ib.*—under permanent control, 173—objections to the words 'lunatic' and 'asylum,' 174—principles laid down by the Commissioners, 175–178—definition of the term, 175, *note*, 191—condition to be reported and control continued as long as it is needed, 176—Gheel colony, *ib.*—a single Board of Control, 177—protection of property, 178—education of children, 179—inmates of prisons and workhouses, *ib.*—establishment of a labour colony at Parkhurst, 180—views on segregation, *ib.*—treatment of inebriates, 181—compulsory detention, 182—epileptics, 183—the Lingfield colony, *ib.*—education and number of epileptic children, 183, 184—the future of idiot asylums, 185—Earlswood, *ib.*—mental responsibility in criminal cases, 186—opinions on the uses of imprisonment, and memorandum by

Dr Needham, 187—the Lunacy Commission or Board of Control, members, *ib.*—method of appointment, 188—definition and allotment of their work, *ib.*—system of certification, 189—danger from heredity, 191—treatment of the feeble-minded, *ib.*

Froude, J. A., 'The Two Chiefs of Dunboy,' 213.

Fry, Sir E., his views on the reasons for the increase of insanity, 180.

Fuller Maitland, J. A., 'A Century of English Music,' 501.

G.

Gheel, lunatic colony at, 176.

Gifford, William, the first editor of the 'Quarterly,' 734—his career, 736—as poet and editor, 737, 758–760—death, 760.

Gladwell, Mr, his system of road-making, 151.

Gokhale, Mr, his influence in India, 704, 708.

Golding's version of Ovid, Shakespeare's use of, 458 *et seq.*

Gosse, Edmond, his criticism of Tennyson's poetical personality, 320.

Green, A. S., 'The Making of Ireland,' 259—her misleading statements, *ib.* See History, Irish.

Grove, Sir George, his work for English music, 505, 512.

Grundy, G. B., 'Herodotus the Historian,' 115.

H.

Hadow, W. H., on Milton's love of music, 167.

Haldane, Rt Hon. R. B., M.P., his Territorial scheme, 2.

Hanotaux, G., 'Histoire de la France Contemporaine,' 113.

Hardy, T., his poem 'The Dynasts,' 200—style, 200, *note.* See Poetry.

Hauvette, A., 'Hérodote, Historien des Guerres Médiques,' 118.

Herodotus the Historian, 115—works on, 115–119—story of the war of B.C. 480–479, his original scheme, 119—the three stages of his work, 120—date of the composition, 121–123—literary sources, 123–125—disputable conclusions, 125—position of Persia, 126—ambitious designs of Darius, *ib.*—attitude of the Greek States, 127—Argos, 128—Delphi, 128–131—treat-

ment of the strategy of the war, 131—dual character of the invasion, *ib.*—main defence of the Greeks on land, 132—fiasco at Tempe, 133—failure of the attempt to defend Thermopylæ, 134—strategy in connexion with Salamis, 135—his account of the battle of Thermopylæ, 136—of Salamis, 137—close of the campaign, 138—reluctance of Sparta to take the field, 139—operations at Platæa, 140.

Hill, Miss Octavia, and Poor-Law reform, 558 *et seq.*

History, Irish, Truth and Fiction in, 254—relations with Great Britain, *ib.*—Dr Bonn's 'English Colonisation in Ireland,' *ib.*—geographical position, 255—destruction of the clan system, 256—activity of the Roman Catholic mission, 257—G. B. O'Connor's 'Elizabethan Ireland,' 258—Mrs Green's 'Making of Ireland,' 259—her misleading statements, *ib.*—effacing documents, 260—use of the word 'nation,' *ib.*—reliance on authorities, 261—position of the English in Ireland in the fifteenth century, 262—internal trade, *ib.*—bridges and waterways, 263—trade commodities, 264—wool, 265—leather, *ib.*—her sketch of the daily life of a Celtic chief, 266—inability to distinguish between the relative importance of her authorities, *ib.*—frequent misuse of quotations from documents, 267–273—her theory of the adoption of Anglo-Irish culture by natives, 273—political animus and partisanship, 274.

Hobhouse, Prof. L. T., 'Morals in Evolution,' 337.

I.

Indian Reform, 692—alienation of the people, *ib.*—seeds of unrest, 693—Lord Morley's reforms, 693 *et seq.*—the Viceroy's Council and native representation, 696–699—Muhammadan or Hindu, 699—Legislative Councils, 700–705—limitations, 701—dangers, 702—the unofficial majority, 703—method of election, *ib.*—consequences to the various peoples, 705—comparison with Austria, 707—future unification, 709—the Musalmans, 710—the future, 711.

Industries, Sweated, and the Minimum Wage, 67. See Wage.

Inebriates, their treatment, 181—

- compulsory detention, 182. *See* Feeble-minded.
- Inge, Rev. W. R., 'The Meaning of Modernism,' 571.
- Innocent the Great, 525—the Middle Ages, *ib.*—the greatness of Innocent, 526—his career, 528—power of soldiers of fortune, 530—triumph of the Catholics, 531—chaos in Italy, 532—war of Viterbo, 533—Innocent's activity, 534—the Lateran Council, 535, 549—religion and learning, 536—the Pope's methods, *ib.*—his 'Deliberation' of 1200; 538—compact with the Guelfs, *ib.*—civil war, 539—defeat of Otto, *ib.*—tortuous diplomacy, 540—the Emperor excommunicated, *ib.*—the Pope turns Ghibelline, 541—the Sicilian interdict, 542—expedition to Constantinople, 543–545—the crusaders plunder, 545—the heretics of Provence, 546—the Albigenses, 548—Innocent's tolerance, 550—his life-work, 551.
- Irish History, Truth and Fiction in, 254. *See* History.
- Izmirlan, Mgr, Patriarch of the Armenians, his view of the Young Turkish revolution, 247.

J.

- James, Prof. William, his works on Pragmatism, 379 *et seq.*
- Japan, Seismological Society of, 478.
- Joachim III, the Œcumenical Patriarch of the Greeks, his view of the Young Turkish revolution, 247.
- Joachim, Mr H. H., 'The Nature of Truth' reviewed, 389 *et seq.*
- Jones, H. Stuart, 'The Remains of Ancient Painting,' 429.

K.

- Kant, his explanation of the cosmical system, 360 *et seq.*
- Keats, John, the 'Quarterly' criticism of 'Endymion,' 753.
- Knox, Howard V., 'Pragmatism; the Evolution of Truth,' 379.

L.

- Laberthonnière, Abbé L., 'Le Réalisme Chrétien et l'Idéalisme Grec,' 588.
- Lee, Sidney, 'Ovid and Shakespeare's Sonnets,' 455.
- Leibnitz, his conception of continuity, 360.

- Le Roy, M. E., 'Dogme et Critique,' 589.
- Lever, Charles, his friendship with Anthony Trollope, 213, 220—'Harry Lorrequer,' 213—'Charles O'Malley,' 214—'The Dodd Family Abroad' and other novels, 221—consul at Spezzia,' 221, 227.
- Lingfield colony for epileptics, 183.
- Lockhart, J. G., 762—a strong editor, 764, 781—on Catholic Emancipation, 764—and Reform, *ib.*—repeal of the Corn Laws, 766—contemporary movements, 769 *et seq.*—a remarkable period, 772—his own contributions, 779—views on Crabbe, 780—and Theodore Hook, 781—friendship with Murray, 783—personal appearance, 784.
- Loisy, M., analysis of his Modernist teaching, 580–586.
- Lowell, Mr A. Lawrence, 'The Government of England' reviewed, 604 *et seq.*
- Luchaire, M., his authority on the Middle Ages, 527 *et seq.*
- Lunacy Commission or Board of Control, 187—members, *ib.*—method of appointment, 188. *See* Feeble-minded.

M.

- Macan, Dr R. W., 'Herodotus,' 115 *et seq.*
- MacDonald, Mrs R., her views on the minimum wages-limit, 76.
- Mackenzie, Sir Alexander, at the Royal Academy of Music, 512.
- MacMahon, Marshal, elected President of the French Republic, 97—his Cabinets, 104, 105, 108–110—relegated to the position of a constitutional President, 110—resignation, 111.
- Marcère, M. de, 'Le Seize Mai et la Fin du Septennat,' 114.
- Married Women's Property Acts, result, 282.
- Maybury, Mr, his improvement of the roads of Kent, 150.
- McDougall, Mr W., 'An Introduction to Social Psychology,' 357.
- Meaux, Vicomte de, 'Souvenirs Politiques,' 102, 114.
- Mill, J. S., extracts from 'On Liberty,' 279, 285.
- Millais, J. E., his illustrations of Trollope's novels, 220.
- Milne, Professor John, his study of earthquakes, 478 *et seq.*
- Milton and Dante: a Comparison and a Contrast, 157—celebrations

- in honour of Milton, *ib.*—of Dante, 158—their attitude towards women, 159–162—characteristics of their policy, 162–164—prose, 165—love of music, 167—lack of humour, 168—association with men in matters of public interest, *ib.*—comparison of their chief works 'Divina Commedia' and 'Paradise Lost,' 169.
- Modernism, The Meaning of, 571**—the fixed policy of the Papacy, 572—gradual centralisation, 573—victory of infallibilism, *ib.*—its financial basis, 574—repression of free criticism, *ib.*—Galileo, 575—decadence of papal autocracy, 576—the new apologetic, 577—position of the Pope, 578—Papal dethronement of tradition, 579—Newman's opinions, *ib.*—history of the movement, 580—analysis of M. Loisy's writings, 582–586—liberties taken with the authorities, 586—the controversial philosophy of Modernism, 587 *et seq.* Modernist statements criticised, 589–593—'faculty-psychology,' 593—Modernists in the Roman Church, 594—condemned, 595—Mr Tyrrell's claims, 596—an impassable chasm, 597—denial of the supernatural, *ib.*—inconsistencies, 598—the penalties paid, 599—future consequences, 599–603.
- Montessus de Ballore, M. de, his seismological work, 496.
- Moore, S., extract from his poem 'For Dark Days,' 198.
- Morley, Viscount, his reforms in India, 692 *et seq.*
- Motor-car, The, and the Public, 141**—the Automobile Association, 142—disregard of the opinions of the reckless motorist and the infatuated anti-motorist, 143—evils of reckless and inconsiderate driving, and the dust and mud, 144—disregard of the rule of the road, 145—demand for stern and rigorous punishment, 146—general speed-limit, 147, 156—local speed-limits, 148—increased cost of the roads, 149—evils of dust, 150, 153—problem of road-making, 151—redistribution of the burden of road-maintenance, 152—cost of material, 153—advent of motor-cars into Great Britain, 154—motorists' mistaken view of their position, *ib.*—probable result of an action brought by a dairyman, 155.
- Murray, John (the second), 734—and the founding of the 'Quarterly,' *ib.*—outline of his life, 735—removes to Albemarle Street, 759—his character, 782.
- Music, A Century of English, 501.** See Century.
- Munro, J. A. R., 'The Campaign of Marathon,' 118.
- N.
- Near-Eastern Question, The.** See Austria-Hungary, 654, and Turkish Empire, The, 674.
- Needham, Dr, on the position of the Lunacy Commission or Board of Control, 187.
- Newbolt, Henry, 'A New Departure in English Poetry,' 193.
- Newman, Cardinal, his use of the evolution theory in religion, 336–338—his opinions and Modernism, 579.
- O.
- O'Connor, G. B., 'Elizabethan Ireland,' 258, 264.
- O'Sullivan, Don P., 'Ireland under Elizabeth,' 274.
- Ovid and Shakespeare's Sonnets, 455**—popularity of the Metamorphoses, *ib.*—Shakespeare's copy, 457—Ovid in the plays, *ib.*—Golding's version used, 458 *et seq.*—'Venus and Adonis,' 460—'Lucrece,' 461—the Sonnets, 462 *et seq.*—Meres' assertion, 463—analysis of the Metamorphoses, 463–465—Ovid's doctrine, 465—as philosopher, *ib.*—illustrations of his influence, 467–474—and on Spenser's work, 475—high place of the Sonnets, 476.
- P.
- Painting, The Remains of Ancient, 429.** See 'Ancient Painting.'
- Parkhurst, labour colony for feeble-minded prisoners established at, 180.
- Party Government, English, 604.** See English.
- Petrie, W. M. Flinders, extract from 'Hyksos and Israelite Cities,' 47—excavations at Tell-el-Amarna, 61.
- Pfleiderer, Prof., on religion and evolution, 331, 332, 341 *et seq.*
- Poetry, English, A New Departure in, 193**—past and present poets compared, 193–195—use of scientific knowledge, 195—extract from the poems of R. Bridges, *ib.*—L. Binyon, 196—S. Moore, 197—

songs of pride and loyalty, 198—
extract from Mrs Wood's 'Princess
of Hanover,' *ib.*—a new poetic
form, 200—T. Hardy's 'Dynasts,'
ib.—his introduction of artifices,
200, *note*—decision for a chronicle
play, 201–203—historical pageant,
203—number of scenes and battles,
204—imaginative power, 205—his
company of 'Phantom Intelligences,'
206—belief in one 'Immanent Will,'
207.

Poetry, The Essentials of Great,
408. *See* Essentials.

Poor-Law, The Reform of the, 552.
See Reform.

Pragmatism; the Evolution of
Truth, 379—What is truth? 380, 387
—'Humanism,' 381—definitions,
382—Prof. James' work, 382 *et seq.*
—truth demands experience, 385—
Dr Schiller and Mr Sidgwick's work,
386—Mr Joachim and nationalism,
388—the coherence notion, 389—
the thought and its Other, 391—
necessity of coherence, 392—'identity,'
393—'reality,' 394—failure of
nationalism, 395—Mr Bradley's
system, 396—the Absolute, 396 *et*
seq.—'the ambiguity of truth,' 401
—'meaning lies in application,' 402
—objective truth, 404–406—results,
406, 407.

Public, The, and the Motor-car,
141. *See* Motor-car.

Q.

'Quarterly Review,' The Centen-
ary of the, 731—Europe in 1809, *ib.*
—the 'Edinburgh Review,' 733—
the Cannings, 734—and Scott's co-
operation, 734, 739—John Murray,
735—William Gifford, 736, 758–760
—Scott's contributions, 740–743—
George Canning, 744—Robert
Southey, 745—George Ellis, 746—
Sir John Barrow, *ib.*—John Wilson
Croker, 748 *et seq.*—the review of
'Endymion,' 755—distinguished oc-
casional contributors, 757, 767—
the early numbers, 758—arrears of
publication, 759—increased circula-
tion, *ib.*—Sir J. T. Coleridge, 761
—J. G. Lockhart, 762–784—aspects
of contemporary England, 769—
the Tractarian movement, 770—
criticism of Tennyson, 772—Pick-
wick, 776—Wordsworth's Sonnets,
777—'Eothen,' *ib.*—death of the
second John Murray, 782—and of
Lockhart, 783.

R.

Ragg, Rev. L., 'Dante and his Italy,'
168.

Rashdall, Dr Hastings, 'The Theory
of Good and Evil,' 357.

Reform of the Poor Law, The, 552

—the Reports of the Royal Commis-
sion, *ib.*—distinction between the
Majority and the Minority Reports,
553—condemnation of the present
system, 554—causes of abuses, 555
—depauperisation, 556—principles
of 1834 ignored, 557—administra-
tion the difficulty, 558—private
charity, 559—co-operation of volun-
tary and legal relief agencies, 561—
multiplication of authorities, 562—
the Minority Report and State re-
sponsibility, 563—expert manage-
ment, 565—contributory insurance,
566—mobility of labour, 567—
labour exchanges, 569—artificial
relief works, *ib.*—begin on London,
570.

Republic, the Third, The Founda-

tion of, 86—meeting of the Na-
tional Assembly, *ib.*—attitude of
Gambetta, 87—election returns, *ib.*
—Jules Grévy elected Speaker, 88
—M. Thiers nominated 'Chief of
the Executive Power,' *ib.*—compo-
sition of his first Cabinet, 89—
speeches, 89–91—'the compact of
Bordeaux,' 91—promise to main-
tain the Republic, 92—failure of
the attempt of 'fusion' between
the Legitimists and Orleanists, *ib.*
—question of the flag, 93, 99—
title of President conferred on M.
Thiers, 93—plans of the Monarch-
ists for his overthrow, 94–97—
forced to resign, 97—election of
MacMahon, *ib.*—Comte de Cham-
bord representative of the mon-
archical principle, 99—declaration
of his views, 100–102—political
principles, 103—law establishing
the Septennate, 104—first elections
under the new constitution, 105—
episode of 'the French scare,' 106–
108—MacMahon's Cabinets, 108–
110—the 'Seize Mai,' 109—Jules
Grévy elected President, 111—Re-
public definitely established, 112—
works on, 113, 114.

Robert, Prof. Carl, his restoration of
Greek frescoes, 432.

Roberts, Lord, on the duty of up-
holding Imperial policy, 303.

Ruskin, John, contributions to the
'Quarterly,' 778.

S.

- Satow, Sir Ernest*, 'The Foundation of the Third Republic,' 86.
Savage, G. H., 'The Control of the Feeble-minded,' 171.
Schiller, Dr F. C. S., his works on 'Humanism,' 386.
Scott, Dr, his report on feeble-minded prisoners, 179.
Scott, Sir Walter, and the founding of the 'Quarterly,' 734, 739—his contributions, 740—article on himself, 741-743.
Shakespeare's Sonnets, 455. *See* Ovid.
Sidgwick, Alfred, and Humanism, 388.
Smith, L. P., his 'Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton,' 22—character of the work, 22 *et seq.*
Sorley, W. R., 'Evolutionary Ethics,' 356.
South Africa, Union in, 712—the Durban Convention, *ib.*—its result, 713—after the war, 714—the grant of self-government, 715—economic revival, 716—tendencies to union, *ib.*—the Transvaal delegation, 717—the new Constitution, 718 *et seq.*—comparisons with other colonies, 719—the Senate, 721—and House of Assembly, 722—the capital, 723—native franchise, *ib.*—the native protectorates, 724—the problem of finance, 725—appeals to the Privy Council, 726—grounds of opposition, 727—antagonists united, 728—future effects, 729.
Southey, Robert, and the 'Quarterly,' 745.
Spencer, Herbert, his theory of evolution, 358 *et seq.*
Stanford, Sir Charles V., 'Studies and Memories,' 515.
Stephen, C. E., extract from 'Women and Politics,' 291.
Suffrage, Adult, 288, 299. *See* Woman.
Suffrage, Woman, 276. *See* Woman.
Suffragists, their methods, 299.
Sullivan, Sir Arthur, his influence on English music, 510, 518.
Sun, General, his view of the importance of the army, 1.
Sweated Industries and the Minimum Wage, 67. *See* Wage.

T.

- Taine, H.*, his severe judgment of Tennyson, 326.
Tennyson, The Centenary of, 305

- the complete edition, *ib.*—birth, 306—education, 306-308—his appearance, 307—friendships, 308—death of Arthur Hallam, 309—marriage, 310—work at Farrington, *ib.*—peerage, 311—death, *ib.*—development of his powers, 312—'The Princess,' 313—'In Memoriam,' 313-315—patriotic poems, 315—'Maud,' *ib.*—'Idylls of the King,' 316—'Enoch Arden,' 317-319—plays, 319—his fixity of inspiration, 321—wealth of poetical gifts, *ib.*—beauty the essential, *ib.*—comparison with French poets, 322—his lyrics, 323—music of words, 324—Taine's criticism, 326—'In Memoriam' entitles him to very high place, 327—comparison with Browning, *ib.*—his place among the poets, 328.
Tennyson, Lord, 'Quarterly' criticism of his early poems, 772-776.
Territorial Force, The Value of the, 1—views on, 2—result of the alteration in the military system, 3—fear of a compulsory system, 4—numerical sufficiency of the force, *ib.*—naval supremacy, 5—difficulties of invasion, 5-7—views on the training of irregular troops, 8-10—advantage of organisation, 10—opposition views, 11—loss of men under the new system, *ib.*—causes of the 'deficiency in strength,' 12—stringency in standard of training, 13—conditions of peace training, *ib.*—criticisms on creation of horse and field artillery, 14—Engineers and other branches, *ib.*—need for a professionally trained nucleus, 15—peace training of Volunteers, 16—position of the Territorial soldier, *ib.*—qualifications of officers, 18—members of the County Associations, 19—financial question, *ib.*—compared with the Volunteer force, 21.
Thiers, M., nominated 'Chief of the Executive Power of the French Republic,' 88—his appeal for unity, 89—principles, 90—promise to maintain the Republic, 92—title of President conferred, 93—forced to resign, 97.
'Times', military correspondent of the, his views on the Territorial scheme, 2.
Trollope, Anthony, The Works of, 210—continued popularity and fame, 211—career, 212—'The Macdermots of Ballycloran,' *ib.*—his tendency to pensive depression, 213—'The Three Clerks,' 215, 220—

'The Warden,' *ib.*—his first literary commission, 216—principles of construction of his novels, 217—characters, *ib.*—humour, 218—'Barchester Towers' and 'The Bertrams,' *ib.*—'Can You Forgive Her?' and 'The Small House at Allington,' 219—his dialogue, and description of English country life, *ib.*—'Orley Farm,' 220—friendship with J. E. Millais and Charles Lever, *ib.*—'Phineas Finn,' 221-224—'He Knew He was Right,' and 'The Way We Live Now,' 224—his characteristics, 225—acts of kindness, 226—industry, *ib.*—spells of idleness, 227—method of writing, 228—capacity for waiting and working, 229—charm and value of his writings, 230.

Truth and Fiction in Irish History, 254. *See* Irish.

Tübingen school, influence of, 333.

Turkish Empire, The: The Near-Eastern Question, 674—works on, *ib.*—elements of the Ottoman peoples, 675 *et seq.*—the Albanians, 676—Serbs and Bulgars, 677—Macedonia, 678—its ethnographical character, 679—languages, 680—the Vlachian element, 681—Greek supremacy, 683—recent developments, *ib.*—the Young Turks and the Constitutional régime, 684, 687—declaration of Bulgarian independence, 685—the problem before the Powers, 686—the Arabs and Albanians, 688.

Turk, The Reforming, 231—causes of the establishment of a constitutional régime, 231, 235—foreign influences, 232—Sultan and Ulemas, the centre of the Pan-Islamism movement, 233—nationalism, *ib.*—'the Young Moslem Movement,' 234—Sidi Senoussi founds a secret sect, *ib.*—humiliations and losses, 236—brutalisation of the population, 237—machinery of espionage, 238—character of the troops, *ib.*—system of frauds, 239—treatment of the army, *ib.*—intolerable system of military espionage, 240—revolt of the army, *ib.*—result of the change from terrorism, 241—characteristics of the administration of the Young Turks, 242—policy of certain Powers, 243—future relations between Christians and Mohammedans, 244—the multiracial elements question, *ib.*—statistics of the population, 245—Greek elements, *ib.*—Turkey a

theocracy ruling over inferior monarchical States, 246—views of the Patriarchs of the Greeks and Armenians, 247—educational, judicial, and clerical privileges of the various races, 248—characteristics of the Albanians, 249—the Kurds, *ib.*—Arabs, 250—result of the work of the committee, 251—lack of a leader, 252—dearth of constructive forces, *ib.*

Tyrrell, Rev. G., and Modernism, 582 *et seq.*

U.

Ulemas of Turkey, meaning of the word, 233, *note.*

United States, result of conferring political rights on negroes, 295.

V.

Volunteer force, standard of efficiency, 12—peace training, 16—cost, 20—compared with the Territorial Force, 21.

W.

Wage, The Minimum, and Sweated Industries, 67—proposal to enforce by legal enactment, *ib.*—the principle of exchange and the open market, 69, 81—question of its practicability, 70—theoretical results, 71—dispossessed inefficient workers, 72—protection for employers, *ib.*—result on the State, 73—difficulties of a government organisation of industry, 74—ambiguity of a living wage, 75—evasion of the Act in the Colonies, *ib.*—views of Mrs MacDonald, 76—dangers of removing personal responsibility to the community, 77—question of its necessity, 78—rise of wages and fall in the price of commodities, *ib.*—need for aiding the law of economic levitation, 79—effect of trade unions, *ib.*—expansion of the home trade, 80—conditions needed, 81—result of change of employment, 82—better distribution of labour, 83—gradual extinction of uneconomic trades, 84.

Walker, Dr Ernest, 'A History of Music in England,' 503, 515.

Wallace, Dr A. R., and natural selection, 378.

Webb, Mrs Sidney, and Poor-Law reform, 557.

- Weigall, A. E. P.*, 'Religion and Empire in Ancient Egypt,' 44.
- Westermarck, Dr, his 'Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas,' 357.
- Willert, P. F.*, 'The Memoirs of Madame de Boigne,' 628.
- Wilpert, Mgr, his work on early Christian painting, 431.
- Woman Suffrage**, 276—arguments in favour, 277-288—the 'right' to vote, 278—'taxation involves representation,' 279—neglect of the unrepresented, 280—difference of sex, 281—result of the Married Women's Property Acts, 282—extension of their rights and freedom, 283—use of the terms 'emancipation' or 'enfranchisement,' 284—difference between civil and political rights, 285-287—increase in their earnings, 287—arguments against, 288-297—result of adult suffrage, 288, 299—number of electors, 289—characteristics of women, 289, 297—qualities of an English democracy, 290—protest of women against the introduction, 291, 300—physical force the basis of law and of sovereignty, 292-294—result of the negro vote, 295—defence of his country, the duty of man, 296—incapacity of women to share in the forcible maintenance of laws, *ib.*—summary of the case, 297-300—methods of the suffragists, 299—appeal to the electors, 301-304.
- Women, Married, Property Acts, result, 282.
- Woods, Mrs, extract from her poem, 'Princess of Hanover,' 198.
- Wordsworth, William, his Sonnets reviewed by the 'Quarterly,' 777.
- Wotton, Sir Henry**, 22—Mrs L. P. Smith's work on, *ib.*—his poems, 24—'The State of Christendom,' *ib.*—'Elements of Architecture,' 25—'Survey of Education,' 26—'Character of Robert, Earl of Salisbury,' *ib.*—'History of Venice,' 27—characteristics of his letters, 27-29—his epigrams, 29—diplomatic reports, 31—ambassador to Venice, 32—qualities, *ib.*—impetuousness, 33—his first embassy at Venice, 34-37—mission to Turin, 37—to the Hague, 38—second embassy to Venice, 39-41—negotiations in Germany, 41—embassy to the Emperor Ferdinand II, 42—third embassy to Venice, *ib.*—his retirement at Eton, 43.
- Z.
- Zevort, E., 'Histoire de la Troisième République,' 114.

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